

*...For the Healing  
of the Nations*

IMPRESSIONS OF CHRISTIANITY  
AROUND THE WORLD

By

HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

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“What the soul is in a body, this the Christians are in the world. . . . Christians hold the world together.”

(*Letter to Diognetes*, Second Century.)

“To all who care for the peace and health of mankind we issue a call to lend their aid to the Church which stands undaunted amidst the shattered fragments of humanity and works tirelessly *for the healing of the nations.*”

(Report of the Madras Conference, 1938.)



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A



TO OUR HOSTS  
IN TWENTY LANDS

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## *Author's Note*

This little book aims primarily to record certain facts about the Christian World Movement which impressed themselves upon the author during an eight months' journey around the world. It is intended especially for those who, like the observer, have been in the habit of thinking of that Movement with somewhat vague but serious misgivings as to its worth and validity.

Effort has been made to guard the text against misstatements. As far as time and the unsettled conditions of international post permitted, each account has been submitted for correction to those most intimately concerned.

In addition, it has had the advantage of careful scrutiny by a number of persons with far greater factual knowledge than the writer. I am deeply grateful to Doctor Kenneth S. Latourette, Doctor D. J. Fleming, Doctor A. L. Warnshuis and Doctor F. D. Cogswell who have read virtually the entire manuscript with painstaking care and whose suggestions have saved it from many errors both of fact and of judgment. Also to Doctor John R. Mott, Doctor William Adams Brown, Doctor Henry Sloane Coffin, Doctor H. S. Leiper, Doctor L. M. Shafer, Doctor Frank T. Cartright and Doctor Willis Lamott who have criticized sections of the manuscript.

The maps are the work of one who insists upon anonymity but whose identity will not escape those who read the text acutely.

For ready and untiring aid with the typing and the preparation of the Index, very special thanks are due Mrs. Marie Cole Hutchison.

Lastly, I cannot forbear a word of appreciation to Mr. William L. Savage of Scribners, most encouraging and helpful of collaborators; and to the publishers whose interest and co-operation have helped to make possible publication at such a reasonable price. Royalty rights are being devoted to the same purpose.

H. P. V. D.

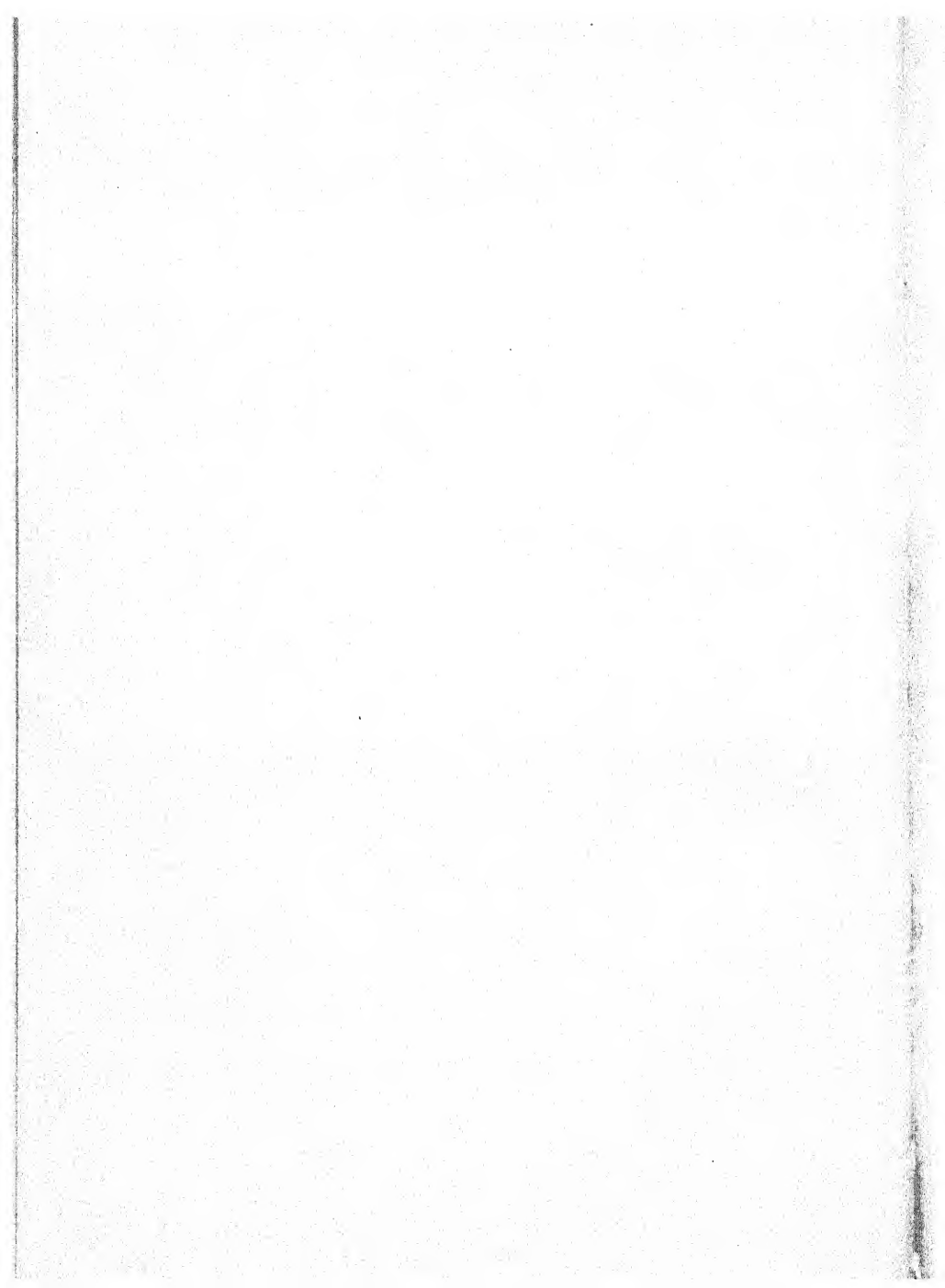
Englewood, N. J.

February 18, 1940.



FOR THE HEALING OF  
THE NATIONS

*Impressions of  
Christianity Around the World*



## Foreword

# Can Any Good Come Out of the Church?

THESE LATTER YEARS, THE HONEST ATTITUDE of great numbers of people toward the Christian Church might have been summarized in the familiar query, "Can any good thing come out of the Church?"

Individual churches here and there, to be sure, were doubtless doing conscientious work—mainly work of personal helpfulness to individuals, principally spiritual helpfulness, especially in times of sickness or sadness or separation. As a medium of sympathy and inspiration for those who desired its aid, the Church might still have some usefulness. But as an agency with significance for the great corporate and world problems of mankind's life, well—"Can any good thing come out of the Christian Church?" Thus, a foremost international lawyer who had represented the United States at the Hague Convention of 1907, at Versailles and in many international responsibilities since, when asked to be a member of the American delegation at a world Christian conference at Oxford in 1937, confessed that he went to put to the test a deepening misgiving about the importance of the Church. "I attended the Oxford Conference because it seemed to me that I might there find the answer to certain questions which perplexed me. I am a layman, of Christian upbringing. Despite the fact that my beliefs are somewhat diluted, I have always assumed, as a matter of course, that it was the Chris-



tian churches which could be looked to to lift mankind from those morasses of which the underlying cause is usually moral decay. But recently I had begun to doubt."<sup>1</sup>

## ii

More recently, not a few people have been having second thoughts about the Church.

In part this is due to what has transpired in Germany. For the Churches in Germany have always been regarded as particularly conservative, traditional, pietistic—preoccupied with the spiritual needs of individuals, unconcerned with the great social and international issues of the day—rather glaring examples of the contemporary inconsequence of organized Christianity. Then came National Socialism. One after another of the great corporate influences to which men had looked as guardians of truth and freedom gave way. In the universities, certain individual scholars spoke courageously, and suffered concentration camp or exile; most professors bowed a servile knee. Education as a corporate force offered no effective resistance; academicians are always too incurably individualists to stand unitedly against the domination of organized might. The great societies of science and learning acquiesced or disbanded. Associations of trade and finance fell into line. Labor capitulated or was driven under cover. The only institution of sufficient inherent cohesion, vitality and resolution to stand unyielding for integrity of mind and speech and worship has been—a segment of the despised German Church. Sophisticated journalists, statesmen, men of affairs have been embarrassed to account for this phenomenon; they have been driven to acknowledge it. A young political scientist in an eastern college—one of my own generation who, like many of that generation, had been brought up in a devoutly religious home, had attended a Church Col-

<sup>1</sup>John Foster Dulles, *Religion in Life*, Vol. VII (Winter Issue, 1938), p. 36.

lege, and then in the emancipating atmosphere of graduate school had shaken off the last vestige of religious conviction and loyalty—reported the conclusion of an intensive study of the German situation. In his own words, “I had come to wonder whether any good thing could come out of the Christian Church. I have returned from Germany wondering whether there is any other force which can stand effectively in our day in defense of all I consider essential for mankind’s advance.”

Second thoughts about the Church spring partly from a widening recognition that Christians are still able to achieve unity of conviction and even of common action where no other unity longer exists. The American lawyer quoted above journeyed to Europe to attend two international gatherings. The first, a body of experts in international affairs, had been meeting biennially since the Great War to devise united plans for education on the principles and steps toward the realization of an International Order. Many of the group came together as old friends. They were dealing with matters in which they shared a common competence of expert knowledge. But they came under the control of rigid and dogmatic national viewpoints and presuppositions. Never before had their divisions been so unbridgable, their discussions so barren of result. “It was impossible to agree either as to the nature and scope of the problem itself or the proper approach to its solution.” From this meeting in Paris, the lawyer crossed the Channel to the World Conference of the Churches at Oxford. Here he sat in a section on “The Universal Church and the World of Nations.” The same tangled issues were under consideration. The participants entered the conference under the influence of essentially the same national viewpoints and presuppositions. But, “at Oxford, differences were obliterated. It would have been utterly impossible to secure agreement had there not been some controlling common denominator. That common denominator was found to be present. It was a genuine belief in Christ’s life and teachings

as the guide to human conduct."<sup>2</sup> It was possible to reach unanimous conclusions of no inconsiderable scope not only regarding the principles for an International Order but as to concrete steps which might still be taken toward its realization.

But second thoughts about the Church are arising also from a new discovery of Christianity as a world force.

We live in a day which is taxing to the last extremity the optimism and hope of every sensitive and sincere person. We confront, the world over, a humanity disillusioned, uncertain, apprehensive. Every factor upon which men have chiefly relied to assure peace, security, advance for mankind appears to have failed them. Science, education, international trade; the sympathetic interplay of cultures, personal acquaintance with other peoples made possible by modern communication and travel; economic intercourse and interdependence; above all, the pledged word of nations—no one of them nor all together have availed to forestall economic distress and international tension practically world-wide, or so much as to retard the steady and alarming drift toward greater confusion and conflict.

In an outlook so foreboding, whose gravity the most pessimistic prophet could hardly exaggerate, the question presses—are there no rays of light and promise? Are there no forces spread widely through our contemporary world and disseminating through the whole body of humanity influences for the righting of its wrongs, the healing of its deepest maladies, the bridging of its divisions, possibly even the halting of its fatalistic descent toward conflict and chaos? As one travels widely across our world today, he discovers one such force and, I think, only one of world scope and significant power. It is—the world-wide Movement of the Christian Church.

Furthermore, in a world in which every international structure and society has been rifted or shattered, it is beginning

<sup>2</sup>*Op. cit.*

to be realized that one world fellowship has been able to maintain its reality unbroken; indeed, has actually strengthened its cohesion and structure in the very days when every other international community has been disintegrating. As Professor Ernest Barker of Cambridge wrote in the *London Times*, "Our century has its sad features. But there is one feature in its history which is not sad. That is the gathering tide of Christian union." The past ten years have witnessed the steadily increasing fragmentation of the body of Humanity. That same decade has witnessed the progressive drawing together of the leadership of the Christian Movement throughout the world, until that Movement (excepting always the Church of Rome) is today more nearly one in thought, in common understanding and even in organization for common action than in almost a thousand years. Here is definitive refutation of the oft-banded charge that religion is merely a by-product of prevailing culture, mirroring its fallacies, echoing its nostrums, swayed by its ever-changing flux. In recent years the most powerful trends in contemporary culture have been dominated by tidal currents of passion and unreason which have swept mankind into hostile armed-camps and have shattered the last pretense of world-unity or world-culture. Within the Christian Churches of the world the most powerful trends have moved in precisely the opposite direction. This is a fact which future historians may discover as one of the most significant in the chronicle of our times. It is simple truth that in our shattered and confused and apprehensive world there remains one and only one unshattered, undaunted, resolute world community of men and women. It is the world-wide Movement of Protestant and Orthodox Christendom.<sup>3</sup>

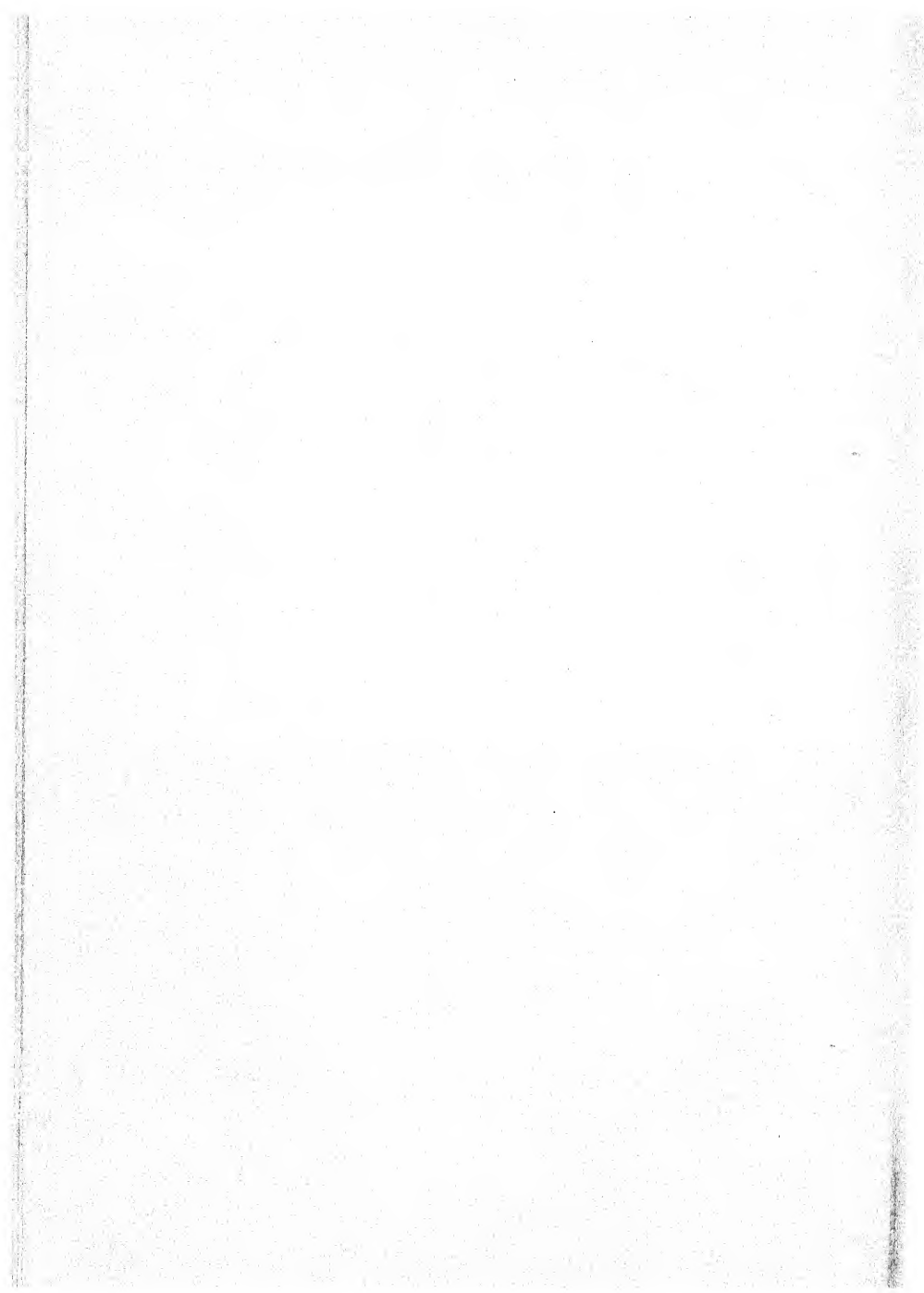
<sup>3</sup>Roman Catholicism is a vast world organization; it can hardly be regarded as a "world community." See below, pp. 149 ff.

*iii*

In the pages which follow we are concerned primarily with one aspect of that Movement—its life in lands into which it has been introduced within the past century by Christian missions. The purpose of these pages is to report certain factual impressions, necessarily scattered and fragmentary, made by that Movement upon a single observer in the course of an eight months' round-the-world journey. And then on the basis of these impressions to discern the significance of the Christian Movement in our troubled world.

*Part One*

PRECONCEPTIONS



# What Are Christian Missions?

EARLY IN 1938 I RECEIVED AN INVITATION TO be one of the representatives of the American Churches at the World Missionary Conference to be held at Madras, India, the following December.

But I had never seen a Christian mission abroad. To be sure, I had been appointed to the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, but had been prevented from going. Inevitably, I had my own impressions and assumptions regarding Christian Missions. Probably they were not greatly different from those of most moderately intelligent Christians, whether laymen or clergy. Careful examination of my own mind disclosed that they embraced: (1) A rather strong conviction of the validity and the value of "missions at their best," that is, of certain individual enterprises (*e.g.*, Kagawa's work in Japan, Yenching University in Peiping, Sam Higginbottom's Agricultural Institute and Leper Hospital at Allahabad, the American University in Beirut) in which one felt confidence through dependable first-hand reports or because of their influence upon persons one had known; (2) A deepening suspicion that large segments and areas of missionary endeavor were weak and of doubtful worth; (3) A lurking



fear that one's qualified enthusiasm for missions might be the vestigial remains of adolescent idealism.

*ii*

All through these recent years the attitude of many Christians, even of the ministry, toward the missionary enterprise has been compact of belief, uncertainty and doubt. Not a few were raised in a tradition which revered missions as the spearhead of Christian advance toward the Kingdom of God, the glory of the Church's service to the world. In pre-war days, one was hardly a consecrated Christian unless he had signed a card volunteering for missionary work overseas. Many of my own generation had their youthful convictions formed in one or another of the great Student Volunteer Quadrennial Conventions and by the dramatic and roseate interpretations of missions there given. But in the past quarter-century, the structure of that conviction has begun to weaken and crumble. In the first place, misgivings deepened regarding the relation of missions to Western political and economic penetration of the Orient, Africa and Latin America; might it not be that the Christian Movement was the vanguard and ally, indeed an aspect, of Western Imperialism? Then, traditional presentations of missions no longer stirred confident enthusiasm; often their portraiture smacked of exaggeration, unreality, romantic naïvete. The Movement had proclaimed as its slogan, "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation"; a full generation had passed and less than two per cent of the population in "mission lands" had been won to Christianity by Protestant and Roman Catholic work combined. Perhaps the missionaries one chanced to meet did not impress one with capacity, equipment and statesmanship adequate to their tasks.

The steadily deepening doubt among layfolk made itself evident in marked falling off of gifts for missions. This led to the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry and its Report,

*Re-Thinking Missions.* The Foreword to that document defined the situation with calculated moderation:

"It is doubtful whether any enterprise entirely dependent on continuous giving has so long sustained the interest of so many people as has the foreign mission. . . . In the last few years there have been signs of . . . change. The old fervor appears to have been succeeded in some quarters by questionings if not by indifference. Subscriptions have been falling off. Problems of the utmost gravity face mission boards in nearly all fields. There is a growing conviction that the mission enterprise is at a fork in the road, and that momentous decisions are called for."

Whatever the intention of the authors of *Re-Thinking Missions*, the net effect of their report, and far more of its press publicity, has been greatly to accentuate the very trends they defined, to shake and even shatter the confidence of large numbers of Christian people in the Christian missionary enterprise as a whole. It appears to have conveyed the impression that there were a few, probably a very few, individual instances of Christian work abroad which merited continuance; but that missions by and large were of dubious value and validity, hardly justifying well-considered support.<sup>1</sup> People's vague misgivings were confirmed, their constitutional disinclination to continue their fathers' generous and even sacrificial gifts for missions was justified.

There is no place where the acids of modernity have eaten more deeply into the convictions of Christians, even the ministry, than in their confidence in the Christian World Mission.

iii

In addition to these general attitudes regarding missions,

<sup>1</sup>That this impression was not the intention of the Report is indicated by such statements as, "That these missions should go on, with whatever changes, we regard as beyond serious question" (p. 4). Nevertheless, a careful re-examination of the Report convinces me that the popular impression was not without foundation.

one knew of certain specific assumptions widely prevalent in popular belief:

*That missions are working principally in countries like Japan, China and India, of ancient and noble cultures amidst religions older and more mature than Christianity—countries which have already profited by the best of modern civilization and are now well able to care for the needs of their own peoples.*

*That the work of missions is predominantly evangelistic in character, using "evangelism" in the rather limited and narrow meaning of proselytism; and that such educational and medical and agricultural work as missions carry on is secondary and ancillary to the main objective of winning individual converts—possibly sometimes serving the function of window-dressing to impress potential supporters who are more likely to respond to enterprises of practical service than to the chief task of spiritual evangelism.*

*That the influence of Christian missions is confined largely to the minute fragment of the populations, seldom more than ten per cent and more often one per cent, who have been brought within the membership of the Church.*

*That missions have succeeded in winning to Christianity a few, a very few, national leaders of first caliber; (that perhaps we hear of Kagawa and T. Z. Koo and the Bishop of Dornakal so repeatedly because there are so few men of comparable strength who could be cited); but that the main success of missions has been amongst underprivileged and depressed classes with most of the accessions to Christian membership drawn from them.*

*That the leadership of missionaries while undoubtedly sincere, earnest and well-intentioned, is for the most part of mediocre ability, of very limited perspective and of dubious effectiveness.*

*That the significance of the Christian Movement is largely limited to concrete helpfulness here and there—"personal*

*helpfulness to individuals, principally spiritual helpfulness, especially in times of sickness, sadness or separation"; but that the Movement's importance for the life of any nation, even more for the life of the community of nations, is negligible.*

Behind and beneath all other misgivings was always the basic query whether Christians were justified in striving to loose other peoples from ancient and deep-rooted cultural and religious loyalties in order to induct them into a strange and foreign faith. Might it not be that Christianity was a religion of and for the West, but less suited to the nations of the Orient and of primitive life than their own traditional faiths? Is the sound goal a universal allegiance to Christianity, or rather a fellowship of diverse religions (a "League of Faiths" to match a League of Nations), or perhaps a still-to-be-evolved universal religion, formed of elements from many faiths, to parallel world culture?

iv

These misgivings and assumptions were vividly present to consciousness when the invitation to the Conference at Madras arrived. But—I had never seen a Christian mission abroad. It seemed absurd that one should go half way round the world to join in planning the strategy of the missionary movement for a coming decade without one bit of first-hand data regarding Christian missions. Accordingly, my wife and I determined to use the six months preceding the Madras meeting to travel as widely as possible amongst the lands of the East where missions are at work and to see as much of the concrete realities of the Christian Movement in that area as six months would permit.

We set off with very mingled expectations—expectations of anticipation and of apprehension. Of anticipation; how could it be otherwise with so fascinating a pilgrimage in prospect? But also of apprehension lest confrontation with the actualities of the Christian Movement throughout the world should

show it largely unenlightened, misguided, ineffective, unwanted, unworthy of support. I was starting for a world missionary conference with the clear realization that the visitation and inspection which were to prepare the delegate for the conference might make it impossible for him to attend as a convinced supporter of its purposes. For we were resolved to ferret out the truth, nothing but the truth, and as far as time permitted the whole truth about Christian missions today—at whatever cost to preconceptions, prejudices or youthful idealization.

We sailed in mid-June from Los Angeles for New Zealand with single day stops at Honolulu, at Pago Pago, the American naval base in Samoa, and at Suva, capital of the Fiji Archipelago. Brief visits in New Zealand and Australia in mid-winter were followed by a leisurely sail up the eastern coast of Australia to the famed island of Bali.

Then for almost three weeks we cruised in and out among the more remote and little visited islands of the Netherlands East Indies on small Dutch freight-ships—coming to anchor once or twice daily off island beaches; hurrying ashore on the ship's launch while she unloaded and loaded cargo; wandering or driving mile after mile inland past crude rattan and bamboo huts, through crowded village campongs, amidst swarms of little brown men and women and children with their drab costumes, their puzzled or curious or indifferent faces, their primitive ways; motoring twice several hundred miles up into almost impenetrable mountainous hinterlands; coming occasionally upon tiny mission centers, Roman Catholic or Protestant. It was our first introduction to the inner life and thought of primitive peoples.

A brief stay in Java led on by ship to Singapore and then northward to Yokohama with one day visits at Manila, Hongkong and Shanghai. Ten days in Japan were occupied mainly with visits to educational centers, conferences with Japanese and American Christian leaders, and intimate talks with a

number of the ablest foreign diplomats. From the western shore of Japan we crossed to the southeasterly tip of Korea, thence by long overland train journey through the length of Korea and Manchuria and down into northeastern China, with stop-overs of several days at Seoul, capital of Korea, and a single day at Mukden in Manchuria. After a short stay in Peiping, we sailed by small coastal boat from Tientsin to Shanghai, then down the coast again to Hongkong.

Here we set off on one of the most fascinating sectors of the whole journey—two weeks by plane into Central and West China with stops of several days each at Chungking, Chengtu and Kunming—days and nights crowded with talks with foremost government leaders, educators and foreign business and diplomatic representatives, with inspection of conditions and needs in China's exiled universities and amongst her refugee population, and with study of the manifold enterprises of the Christian Movement in "Free China."

From Kunming, terminus both of the new road from Burma and of Free China's sole remaining rail connection with the outside world, we journeyed down that narrow-gauge, single-track rail-line into French Indo-China. Thence along the French coast to Saigon, overland to Angkor—perhaps the most romantic and magnificent ruin in the world—and on to Bangkok, capital of Siam. A short air-flight brought us to Rangoon in Burma. From there, by ship to Calcutta.

Then followed four weeks of crowded travel in India, mainly in northern India—up the valley of the Ganges from Calcutta to Asansol, Benares, Allahabad, Meerut and Delhi, on to Lahore, back to Agra and Jaipur—culminating in a week's stay in one of the smaller but most progressive Indian states. Then, three weeks at the Madras Conference itself.

Thence, as we turned our faces homeward, a leisurely voyage carried us through the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, Suez and the Mediterranean with a week's stop-off divided between Palestine and Egypt. A fortnight in Paris for meetings of the

provisional organizations of the new World Council of Churches. And then, the *Queen Mary*, and so—home again!

## v

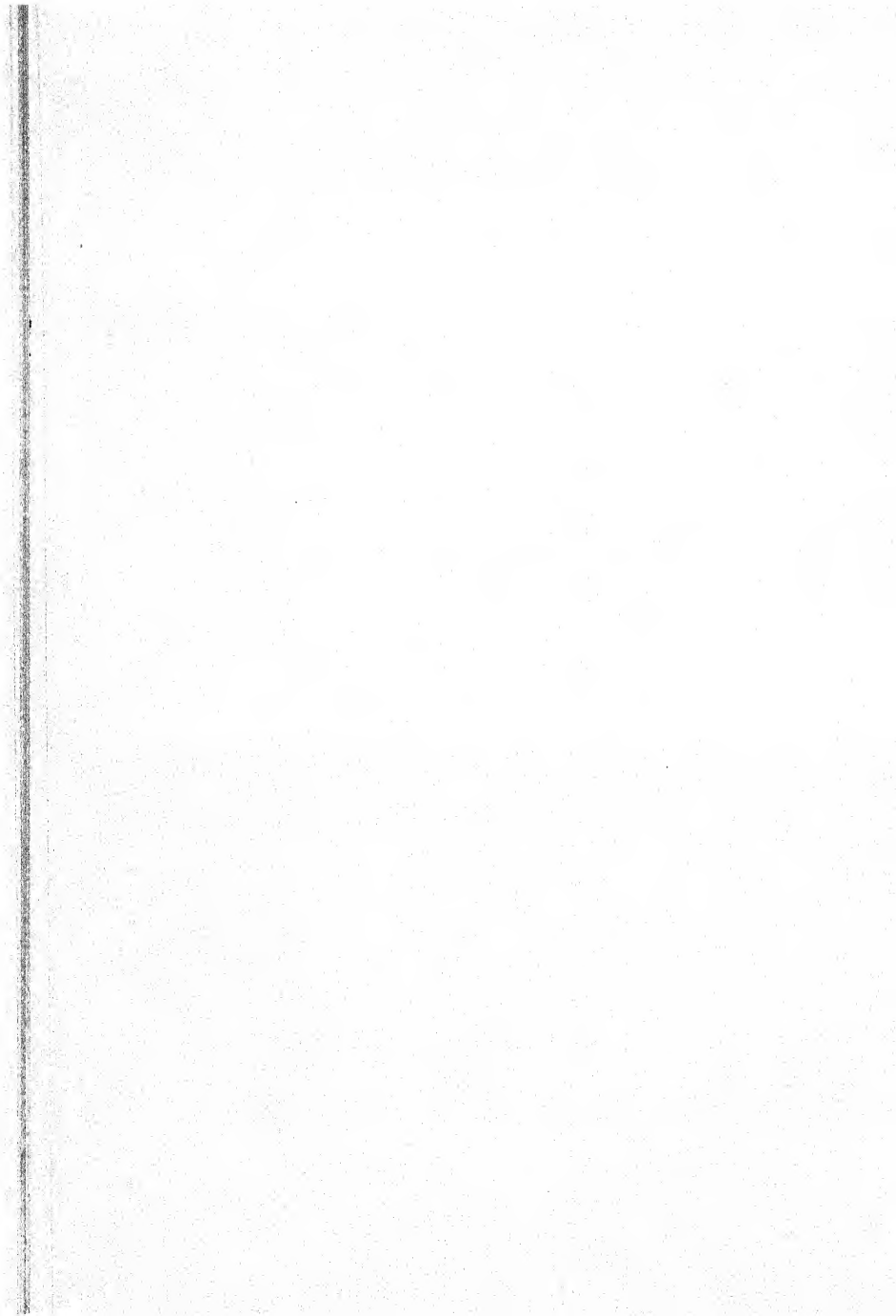
In all, eight months of almost continuous travel, touching five continents and twenty lands over a distance of some forty thousand miles. In every country and city we were meeting men and women of influence and of little influence, both nationals and foreigners—government officials, leaders in education and in business, diplomats, university students, common folk—profiting from their interpretations of that land, its people, its problems, and their bearing upon the larger issues of world life. But for the whole of the eight months continuously with only intervals of sea voyage, we were also daily observing, criticizing, appraising the concrete actualities of the Christian Movement in the world—in close to a hundred centers scattered from Fiji to Malta, from Korea to Palestine; and under the most diverse circumstances—in remote fastnesses of little known islands of the Pacific and in the great metropolitan centers of Tokyo, Shanghai, Calcutta and Cairo, at the heart of the agony of war and persecution in Japan and China and amidst the pastoral peace of primitive millions, far removed from the tides of contemporary conflict.

What impressions emerge from such a survey, necessarily hurried, superficial, incomplete, but perhaps somewhat more wide-reaching and comprehensive than it is given to most travellers to make? The answer can best be given first in a series of concrete pictures culled from a day-by-day travel journal, and then in certain more general reflections and conclusions.

*Part Two*

FACTS





1.

## *A Century in Fiji*

WE WERE HAPPY IN OUR FIRST INTRODUCTION to Christian missions.

"Fiji." The word suggested an island, or group of islands, somewhere in the Pacific, inhabited by a race of wild, woolly-haired brown people of massive build who had been, or perhaps still were, fierce cannibals.

On the whole, this sketchy impression was fairly accurate. We had not pulled alongside the pier at Suva, the capital port, before the stalwart physiques, the dark skins, and the black kinky headcoverings which lined the quay reminded us that we had come amongst a race of powerful Melanesians. But an hour ashore convinced us that we were also among a peaceable, industrious, progressive people with high promise of intellectual and cultural advance.

### ii

It is just over a hundred years since two British Methodist missionaries first landed on an outer island of the Fiji Archipelago. These were the people who awaited them:—

"The Fijians as a race were unmercifully cruel. They practiced polygamy, strangling and infanticide. Warfare and treachery throughout the islands made human life very uncertain. Cannibalism in its most degrading forms was common. Their war canoes were launched over the backs of living men, and their heathen temples were consecrated by burying men alive. They regarded the victims of shipwreck as

condemned by the gods, and doomed to die; and if any such reached their inhospitable shores they were dispatched with the promptitude and zeal of the performance of a sacred duty."

That was in 1835. Unaided, the Methodists began their work. Over thirty years later the last instance of cannibalism occurred, one of the more redoubtable of the missionaries being the final victim. It was another ten years before any Western Power touched its hand to these islands bringing Western instruments of order and government. Here, then, is a people a hundred years from complete barbarism and less than seventy-five years from cannibalism.

Just a century. And today? Of the native population of 97,000 people, 84% are literate, 99+% are Christians; and Fiji is one of the most orderly and progressive communities in the South Pacific! At no time during the century has the staff of English (later Australian) Methodists charged with the task of civilizing, educating and Christianizing the population numbered much more than a score. From the outset, much responsibility of leadership has fallen upon the Melanesians themselves, first from neighboring islands and then from among the Fijian population.

We visited a number of the main centers of work. The simple, graceful buildings of a girls' school hidden amidst tropical trees on high ground with a panoramic view across coral reefs, curling breakers and deep blue waters far out to sea. A sturdy boys' school where at the noon-recess Indian lads spun marbles improvised from cowrie-shells and Fijian boys played soccer in the tropical heat. A beautiful little church recently erected for the Indian Christian congregation. And then, a dozen miles from Suva through thick jungle, the principal educational center of the Mission—a splendid community of buildings including a Normal School to train native teachers, a Theological College to prepare Fijian preachers, a boys' Technical Training School, an Agricultural Institute, primary schools for both sexes and, not far away,

one of the several orphanages sponsored by the Mission. In one of the churches, an old "killing stone" from the former heathen temple against which victims were dashed to death now serves as the baptismal font.

Our tour brought us finally to the Mission Office—a modest two-room bungalow which serves as book-store, print-shop and administrative headquarters for an enterprise embracing close to a thousand churches and over three hundred schools. In a crowded rear-room we exchanged greetings and fellowship with the present-day successors of the early pioneers, as unpretentious as their surroundings and equipment. The worth of their accomplishment is recorded in no impressive monuments of steel or stone but in every aspect of the life of one of the most lovely garden-spots in the South Seas. Is there on the face of the earth a more impressive record of solid achievement in behalf of a primitive people? Or more convincing proof of what Christian missions, unaided and untrammelled by Western government or business, may accomplish with and for a whole population?

*iii*

Unhappily there is a postscript. In at least three particulars, this amazing result of a hundred years of intelligent devotion now faces new and baffling difficulties.

With the growth of population, the reduction of illiteracy and the consolidation of British administration in the Fiji Islands, responsibility for primary education is, quite naturally, being increasingly assumed by the colonial government. But official education, however efficient, is unlikely to maintain the same high synthesis of training of the mind and nurture of the spirit, the equipment of pupils for achievement and the preparation of children for life which is the very genius of Christian education at its best and the principal secret of the remarkable advance of the Fijian peoples. Will secular Western standards of morals and business find entrance through secularized education?

More serious, the introduction by Europeans of large-scale economic enterprise during the present century has brought complications and problems of serious threat to the inhabitants of Fiji. Unable to persuade the native Melanesians to undertake the menial drudgery so essential for economic exploitation, the leaders of Western business have imported hordes of low caste workers from British India as common laborers. The meaning which their immigration holds for the culture and progress of the Fijians may be suggested in the following statistics. The Indians now almost equal the native population in numbers. But literacy among the Indians is 24% as compared with 84% among the Fijians. Of the children of school age, three-fifths of the Fijians attend, but only one-fifth of the Indians. Of the Fijian girls, over half are in school but of the Indian girls fewer than one in ten because of the traditional Hindu and Muslim attitudes toward women. For of the 85,000 imported Indian laborers, 70% are Hindus, 12% are Muslims and only 2% are Christians. *And this immigrant population is increasing three times as fast as that of the native inhabitants.* Thus far relations between the two peoples are satisfactory. But it is only too possible that a situation is being created which will wreak tragic consequences upon later generations.

More serious still are the indirect results of the impact of Western civilization. We inquired whether drunkenness, crime, immorality were serious difficulties in work among the Fijians. "Only very recently," replied our host sadly, "with the coming of cocktail parties, gambling, prostitution and the movies"—invariable accompaniments of the advent of Western business. Illegitimacy is mounting rapidly. Lawlessness is beginning to constitute a major problem. The struggle for the moral and spiritual future of the people of Fiji has just begun. Fiji sheds new light upon the much mooted question of the relations between "Western civilization" and Christian missions in their respective impacts upon a primitive people.

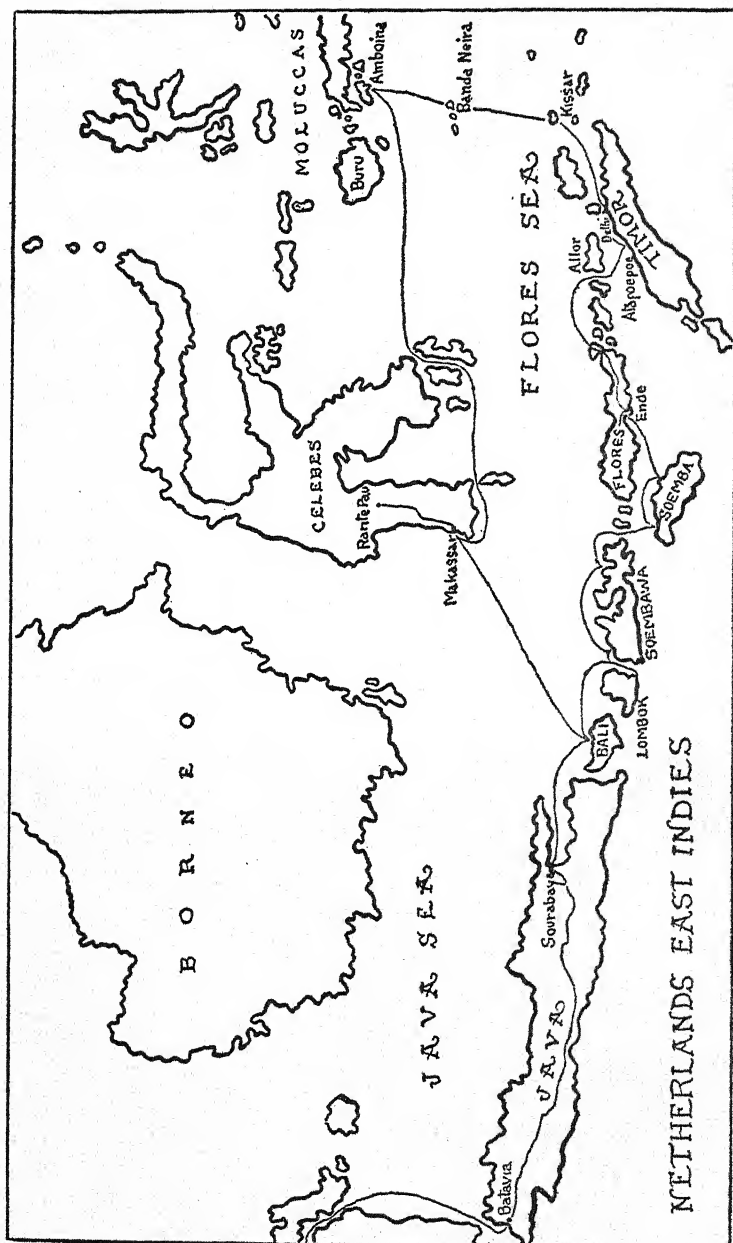
## 2.

# *Among Primitive Peoples*

IF THE EYE RUNS ACROSS AND DOWN THE MAP of Asia to its southeasterly tip at Singapore and then directly eastward into the Pacific, it will fall upon a chain of islands stretching across the Pacific a distance the width of the United States. These are the Netherlands East Indies. Amongst that vast archipelago, microscopic examination of most world maps will detect a minute dot distinguishable by its peculiar shape like an octopus. Insignificant on a world scale and correspondingly unimportant to our thought, Celebes is an island of 40,000 square miles harboring a population of some 3,000,000 Malayans, mostly people of very primitive life and culture. It is one of the larger and more important possessions in the Dutch island empire.

### ii

For almost twelve hours with only a break for the night we motored up from Makassar, the principal commercial and political center, into the remote mountainous hinterland. Mile after mile the rough road picks its way along the scanty edge of precipitous cliffs, round hair-raising bends, up and up, with ever grander, wilder jagged peaks on either side. Our ancient Dodge bumped and swayed, shifting to second, then to low, then back again, but pushed steadily forward and upward like a wiry kangaroo. For hours we saw no white face, heard no language other than Malay and the local dialects. As the scenery became wilder, so did the appearance and demeanor of the diminutive half-naked brown men and



women along the road. Their rude rattan huts perched more and more insecurely on bamboo stilts. At the first sound of our car they leaped for the edge of the road and turned after us wild and stupid eyes in uncomprehending stares. A fine drizzle enveloped the mountains and added a slimy surface to the other hazards of this precarious highway.

Presently we noted several of the houses for which we had been told to watch, built in the very distinctive shape of the native ships or praus with high decks and great projecting bows and sterns which are such a marked feature of Makassar harbor. Houses constructed in this fashion with lofty overhanging roofs at each end present a most picturesque and attractive appearance. We knew we had come into the borders of the Toradja's territory. These tiny people (in stature a full foot below average height), driven two hundred miles into the interior centuries ago, had pushed their boats upstream before them and continue to build their homes in that familiar shape and to bury their dead in praus hewn of wood or stone. Secure in their mountain fastnesses, nearly half a million of them, they have successfully resisted penetration by the stronger and fiercer tribes below. While the latter have been Muslims for centuries, the Toradja practise unaltered primitive animism and ancestor-worship. We passed their burial-places—caverns cut out of the solid face of rock-cliffs. Here their dead, after being kept a solid year in the houses where they die—usually a single room which serves as dwelling for the entire family from great-grandparents to great-grandchildren—are finally laid away with orgiastic feasts and considerable promiscuity, but with superstitious beliefs about their continuing influence from the vivid spirit world.

At last the road wound down into a river-plain and we entered a typical village. But at the outskirts on either side was a grass-covered clearing. To the left, a brown steeple lifted above the trees revealing a little Dutch church. Beyond, a plain square building unmistakably announced the village school. A little farther on and across the road, a low



one-storied white building suggested a hospital. In the doorway of the house just beyond, a young couple clad entirely in the white of the tropics smiled a characteristically Dutch welcome.

Both of our hosts had been leaders of the Dutch Student Christian Movement in undergraduate days. After medical course and internship in Holland and a couple of years of special preparation in tropical diseases in Java, he had come here as his first appointment. Before her marriage, she was a full graduate in theology at the University of Utrecht. Cocoa and cake helped to break the ice and refresh us after our journey. We discovered many mutual friends.

iii

It was Sunday morning. As we had passed the little church we had noted several tardy worshippers slipping in, shielding themselves from the downpour with large banana leaves, Rante Pau's customary umbrella. We inquired if it were too late to join the worship. The doctor, explaining that it was a quarterly communion and in the Toradja dialect, said that he thought the service must be drawing toward its close since he had just heard the strains of the "middle hymn"—not the middle of the service, be it explained, but the middle of the sermon, with a good half hour of preaching on either side. We crossed the road, slipped into the church and stole forward into front pews as all others were crowded. The Dutch minister in black Geneva gown was reading his sermon in the vernacular. In the last ten minutes of an hour's carefully read discourse, one could not be certain that the auditors were grasping the full weight of its substance. There was no slackening of intent and reverent attention but I thought I detected a slight falling off in capacity for absorption during those closing paragraphs. However, one quickly sensed that the message of the worship was being conveyed, far more effectively than by spoken word, through the unadorned beauty of the building, through simple hymns to familiar tunes, through the indefinable intimacy of deep fellowship, perhaps

most of all through the stillness which pervaded the house and all its company—simple, unemotional, genuine, comradely, reverent, beautiful. Presently the sermon was laid aside and, coming down from the pulpit, the minister took his place at the center of the long table spread the width of the church. After the lovely Dutch custom which so nearly reproduces the setting of the First Supper, the worshippers came forward and took their places seated at table to his right and left and the bread and cup were passed from hand to hand. Then one knew that Christian worship when true and sincere is essentially the same in every tongue and every clime, and that its focal center is in one place only—at the Supper of One who first took bread and broke it, and then rose from table and washed his friends' feet.

It was not until we took places at the table facing the congregation that we had our first opportunity really to see them. That sight will remain with us always. We looked out upon some three hundred little brown men and women, boys and girls, clean, alert, barefooted but well and becomingly dressed, spotless in their simple native costumes, hair immaculately arranged, winsome and charming, almost every face lighted by an eager sincere reverence and confident repose. The contrast to the unkempt bedraggled figures and the frightened staring faces which we had passed steadily for the preceding two days was overwhelming.

The external contrasts—in cleanliness, health, intelligence, happiness, freedom from fear—no one could miss. It was only later when we visited huts of non-Christians, inspected collections of family fetishes, learned in detail of the beliefs and customs of animist worship, and grasped something of the superstition and terror from which it springs that the deeper contrasts could be fully appreciated. In their presence many of the discussions of missions which one had heard and in which he had been a participant evaporated into irrelevance like mist at sunrise or certain "advanced" theories of marriage in the radiant serenity of a lovely home.

*iv*

Since it was Sunday, the little schoolhouse was closed. It stood near by with its promise of the beginnings of education, and the release which education brings from tethering superstition and terror, for all who will come. We met the head of the school-system for that locality with responsibility for some sixty-five schools scattered through the mountains. Also the "language expert"—a brilliant linguist who is giving his life to the mastery of the native dialects in order that a door may be opened for these primitive peoples to the riches of mankind's learning and literature.

The doctor inquired if we cared to see the leper sanitarium. Our faces must have betrayed a slight hesitation for he reassured us that there was no danger of contagion. A half-mile back from the hospital, we suddenly came out upon a small plateau—to discover ourselves in one of the most altogether lovely villages we had ever seen. A dozen little homes, beautifully designed and constructed by local workmanship in the shape of the native prau and tastefully decorated by the lepers themselves, house a hundred and ten lepers. Each doorstep is flanked by a colorful garden. The best sanitary arrangements prevent disease and furnish a demonstration in public health. From the hillside just above, a somewhat larger prau overlooks the community; it is the church. The whole suggested a garden-village. Again, the contrast to the crowded, tumble-down campongs through which we had been motoring was staggering.

We passed in and out among the residents. On one porch a leprous mother rocked a newborn infant. Before another, children played in the sand. Everywhere cheerful contented faces and cordial greetings welcomed us. We learned that the less severe cases can be cured. "But," I said, "there are no walls, no fences, no guards." The doctor smiled. "Of course not. No one wants to leave. If they were to return to their homes, they would be driven from their own villages, quite

possibly they would be killed." Here was a leper colony which was not merely a haven of safety and happiness and treatment and possibly cure for over a hundred social outcasts, but also a model village for the entire locality!



It was late evening before we ever found time to visit the hospital itself. Darkness had fallen and the doctor and I felt our way around the dim wards by oil-lamplight. For there is no electricity, therefore no lighting-system, no drying facilities for bandages constantly wet in the humid dampness of the rainy season, above all no X-ray.

Here and there beneath a bed one or more figures were curled up on the floor. The doctor explained that they were members of the patient's family. Only on condition that they might accompany him would they permit their sick relative to enter the hospital. I was surprised to note that several beds were empty. But I was pointed to a figure stretched underneath. The patient could not rest comfortably on the unaccustomed comfort of a hospital cot so had rolled onto the floor and there slept peacefully.

Seventy beds, always overcrowded. For the constituency of that little hospital numbers 300,000 people. And the area of responsibility is close to 10,000 square miles of jagged mountains pierced by hardly a road. It must be covered mainly on horseback, visiting a dozen dispensaries which supplement the work of the central hospital. The medical staff consists of one doctor and one trained nurse, assisted by locally trained native helpers. Tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, cholera, trachoma, rupture—these are the major ailments. At the moment the most crying need is an electric-plant, but that is a dream to conjure with for the future. When I was saying good night and laid on the table a small bill—less than an evening's theatre at home—the young doctor grasped my hand with tears in his eyes.

As we drove off in the gray dawn the following morning,

our last glimpse of Rante Pau was of two dim figures standing in the doorway where they had greeted us the previous day—worn and a little haggard but still smiling. General practitioner, surgeon, obstetrician, ophthalmologist, orthopedist, tropical disease specialist, leprosy expert, friend-at-large to 300,000 primitive people!

*vi*

This incident is not important primarily for itself, but as an illustration. In its main features—the human situation disclosed and the work of the Christian Church toward meeting that need—it could be multiplied many times from our very limited observations in this small corner of the world. The islands of the Netherlands Indies alone—60,000,000 people, half the population of the United States, vast numbers of them entirely without medicine, without education, without faith save for the work of the little Christian churches. None of those good things will be theirs until they are brought by the slow advance of Christian missions.

So much utter nonsense is talked about missions! I defy any one with open eyes and a modicum of concern for his fellow-men to confront life as it actually is for vast masses of that humanity of primitive culture and religion, then witness a center of Christian faith and life among them, and still question the reality and incomparable importance of the Christian Movement. It stands among these people absolutely alone—the only agency with a comprehensive strategy for the liberation, illumination, advancement of every aspect of their life.

As for opportunity for the enlistment of life with maximum usefulness and satisfaction, where else can an able and competently trained man or woman of medicine place his life so effectively? where else can a teacher or minister or social worker hope to count for as much? The *one* medium of truth, education, healing, friendship, mediation, the compassion of Christ, the reality of God among a whole tribe or nation.

### 3.

## *Fetishes and Faith*

LATE ONE AFTERNOON OUR LITTLE DUTCH freight ship came to anchor off the beach (not harbor) of Waikelo on the island of Soemba. The captain told us that on his outward voyage two missionaries had come aboard here inquiring for us. We wondered if they would trouble to come again.

We hurried ashore on the first trip—to the outer edge of the low breakers by ship's launch, then through the surf by leaky rowboat, and finally a leap for dry sand between waves. With some difficulty we righted ourselves and stood up to confront—three figures in immaculate white linens and topees, three smiling white countenances silhouetted against a solid background of dark brown bodies and faces. There they were, this time three instead of two, having again driven thirty-five miles across rough mountainous roads just in response to word from a mutual friend that we *might* be passing on that ship. And now our schedule allowed us only an hour and a half ashore!

#### ii

The short, rotund jolly man was one of the senior "language experts" of the Netherlands Indies, a highly trained linguist supported partly by the Dutch Government and

partly by the Bible Societies. His task is to master the native dialects, four on this island of 200,000 people but sometimes as many as twenty on a single island, reduce those dialects to written characters, translate into them first a few portions of Scripture, then a simple primer, then the whole of the Bible and other selections from the great classics. Almost everywhere the Bible is the doorway to the world's literature. By this time we had come to understand the significance of the "language expert." That man's life is the sole connecting link between 200,000 primitive people and—education, knowledge of history, acquaintance with art, culture and civilization, intelligent faith. It required no exaggerated imagination to visualize thousands upon thousands of Malayan men and women, their children and children's children, standing like the dark figures who framed his cheerful countenance, waiting while he works, blocked from all you and I consider the essentials of civilized living until that one man shall have completed his life's task. The world over, that task is almost always pioneered by a Christian missionary. Our host has been at work on Soemba for twelve years and confessed he expected to "stay here," that is to say for life.

His lean companion was a mature and able surgeon, also an expert in tropical diseases, with a keen layman's interest in theology. His sure hand and strong eyes immediately inspired confidence, his nimble incisive mind invited discussion. Not to miss us he had driven that day clear across the island from its opposite tip where he had been operating in the Government hospital—the only surgeon amongst a population of 200,000.

The third face was much younger, a specially trained educationalist who had just arrived from Holland to take over supervision of the eighty-odd village schools which furnish the only opportunity for education for these island people. The school structure throughout the Dutch Indies, whether in Roman Catholic or Protestant or Government schools, ad-

vances by three levels. First come three grades in the village schools. Here the instruction is by native teachers who have themselves been trained through this system and is in the local dialect and in Malay—a language which is indigenous neither to the Dutch nor to the native peoples but nonetheless is the *lingua franca* of this part of the world. In these elementary grades, the children are usually from six to nine years of age. Then, for the more promising pupils, there may follow two further years in middle schools located at one or two points on each island. Here the children are in residence, teaching is principally in Malay and usually by both Dutch and native instructors. Finally the very brightest students may be carried forward for another three years of advanced study—normal training if they are to be prepared for school teaching, a theological course if they have been accepted as candidates for the ministry or priesthood. For this special training they may be sent off to one of the other islands. It should be added that a still higher possibility lures the most exceptional young students—university and graduate study in medicine, law, theology or science. For that they must go for a period of years to the capital city of Batavia on Java. There they will be introduced to study in Dutch and the languages of the West. That privilege opens only to the rarest lad from these remote island tribes.

### iii

Our hosts hustled us into the doctor's spruce little English car and drove us over bumpy sandy roads to the nearest village some eight miles inland. As the car drew to a stop in front of the local missionary's home, we were hailed out of the dusk by a chorus of children's voices chanting a welcome in Malay. A dozen little brown figures disappeared around the house.

The missionary and his wife spoke no English and we no Dutch but a charming young daughter told my wife some-



thing of their life and work. Meantime, the men struggled to discuss mission problems around a triangle of Dutch, German and English. The inevitable, and always delightful, cocoa and cookies prepared us for the return drive.

Just as we were about to conclude our all too brief visit, I chanced to inquire whether entrance into their church was now usually by individuals or by groups. Then they spoke of a family-group of forty who only that morning had presented themselves for baptism bringing to the missionary, as dramatic—and decisive—proof of their break from ancestor-worship, their entire congeries of family fetishes. "Would you be interested to see the fetishes?" we were asked. From an adjoining room, the missionary and his daughter carried in a large round table piled high with the most astounding and repellent conglomeration of odds and ends our eyes had almost ever fallen upon. Imagine, if you can, a neglected corner of a non-dustproof attic in which had accumulated over many years half a hundred miscellaneous family trinkets and children's prize-possession, each laden with the dust and dirt of a dozen years. Then realize that these keepsakes were treasures of primitive mentality fashioned with primitive crudeness. Thus you may form some picture of this collection of "holy objects." On the bottom was what once might have been a rattan tray three feet across; in this family's hut it had been swung beneath the ceiling to ward evil spirits from the household animals. On it were three or four begrimed little basket pouchettes, once the possessions of departed ancestors and now preserved as repositories of their spirits into which bits of dirt and stones and rice had been placed from time to time as offerings to the dead spirits; strings of black grimy horsehair; half a dozen odd stones perhaps originally used to sharpen knives; a miniature wooden sword and sheath of a crudity which would have humiliated the carpentry efforts of a child of eight; and two dozen other personal and household ob-

jects of the most indiscriminate variety, each overlaid with dust and grime. These had been placed at various spots in the family huts or had been left precisely where they had been dropped by departing ancestors and had remained untouched through the years except for periodic offerings of maize or rice or strips of bamboo or what-have-you. They were the loci of worship—mainly of fear to be sure—for a family group of some forty persons. From these they had turned away that very day as they had come under the leadership of their headman to confess faith in the Christian God. "Once the fetishes have been surrendered," we were told, "they will never return to their animistic faith."

*iv*

We remembered the chorus of greeting on our arrival. They told us that a "middle school" was located there with some one hundred and twenty boys and girls between nine and fifteen. We asked if we might have a glimpse of the children before leaving. A motherly Dutch matron guided us through the modest buildings.

First came the little dormitories. The one for girls accommodated thirty in rows of plain wooden board cots packed closely together with a strip of matting rolled at each cot's head, a pillow and night clothes tucked inside. Above the cots hung a few rough wooden cupboards—lockers for the extra clothes and keepsakes of the older girls. The boys' dormitories were similar except that overcrowding requires three small lads to occupy each two cots. If the bare boards appeared a trifle spartan, second thought reminded one that this is all they are accustomed to at home—the floor or a wooden board. Quite probably the matting is an unwonted luxury.

Behind the dormitories were the study-halls—plain square rooms with large center-tables surrounded by benches and illumined by oil lamps whose red shades cast a cheerful glow

to every corner of the rooms. And about the tables, circles of dark eager faces with immaculate hair and dress and sparkling eyes. At a word of greeting in Malay, there came back a cheery choral response. Just then the girls were busy at wool-winding. Sewing, cooking and the other rudiments of domestic science have important places in their curriculum. The boys were at their studies. I picked up a copy-book of a lad of nine—Malay characters written with beautiful precision in a neat hand.

We were warned that further lingering might cause us to be late at the beach. With a hurried "Good-night" to the children and a shouted reply in perfect unison, we were hustled off lest our ship depart without us. But we carried vivid eye-pictures impressed upon our memories—the table of grime-encrusted and revolting trinkets *and* the tables circled by gleaming happy faces. Still, men questioned the need and place of Christian missions!



Only later did we discover that the theological outlook of this Mission is very different from our own. That was no matter of first importance. For the contrast between any sincere Christian faith, Roman Catholic or Protestant, Fundamentalist or Modernist *and* primitive religion is so great that the differences among Christians, vital as they are, fade into utter inconsequence. In vast areas of the world the great issue is not, as has been so widely thought of late, between conservative and liberal Christianity or between any religion and secularism, but between Christian faith of however limited a viewpoint *and* the fearsome superstition and tethering degradation of nature and ancestor-worship.

Apprehension, delusion, ignorance, horror—this is the great problem of primitive life. Those enemies of the mind and soul are almost always in some measure inwoven with the very fabric of traditional religion.

Often it is not possible to effect emancipation from their constraint into the "liberty of the Christian man" all at once. The transition is too abrupt, the gulf too wide for the simple, untutored spirit to achieve in a single leap. Not infrequently the pathway to full release moves by three steps. First, conviction of the power of the Christian God to conquer evil spirits. As one missionary explained to me, "We do not necessarily convince them that Christ abolishes evil spirits, but that he renders them of no effect, robbing them of their power." Then may follow the positive enjoyment of confidence, freedom, love, power, a sound mind. Lastly will come the realization that in no particular place or object is God to be discovered but as a Spirit known in the inmost certainty of humble and contrite hearts who have learned to trust Him in all things, acknowledging Him as the Giver of every good gift. The development of Christian faith as disclosed within its early records gives strong warrant for this step-by-step advance:

"We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places."

"For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind."

And finally, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

## 4.

*A Monseigneur  
and His Flock*

WE CHANGED BOATS AT KISSAR, A TINY ISLET in the western Pacific with slight indentations on either side serving as harbors. As we clambered aboard our new ship, a short quick figure in white cassock with scarlet buttons beneath a smiling ruddy countenance stepped forward with the single word of introduction, "Pessar." Later we discovered that Monseigneur is Roman Catholic bishop of Timor, that he is the first to hold that office, and that he was just returning from his consecration in Holland. We soon found him a charming travelling companion, more ready to compare birds and flowers in fluent French with my wife than to discuss theology with me in painful German-English.

## ii

We could have reached Atapoe at dawn. But Atapoe is the port of Monseigneur's new diocese, and we must loiter through the night in order that all might be in readiness for his welcome home. That morning he appeared on deck brighter and quicker than ever, the simple white costume supplemented by a scarlet skull-cap, a shiny new crucifix and bishop's ring. As we drew toward shore, the field-glasses picked up groups of brown figures scurrying from all directions toward the harbor. We could see that simple bamboo poles and decorated archways had been erected along the route of Monseigneur's triumphal advance.

"*Ach*, they make fun of me today," he protested with pleased embarrassment. "Will there be dancing?" we asked. "Of course. They must dance when they are happy."

As we anchored a half mile off the harbor-entrance, several priests came aboard and increased the little man's confusion by kneeling to kiss the finger of him who had left them a few months ago as a brother. We went ashore in the ship's launch with Monseigneur and his party. The dock and shore behind were dark with seething, shouting figures. At a signal, all knelt for the apostolic blessing.

Now the real reception began. First, a band of young girls armed with sham swords gave a war dance hardly calculated to curdle the most timorous blood. Then a company of school children in uniforms of scarlet and white sang simple hymns of praise. At this point, an antique and dilapidated "*Chevvy*"—the island's noblest vehicle—was brought forward to convey Monseigneur to the nearest village, only a half mile or so away. At the village limits, he was transferred to a sedan chair and borne upon the shoulders of men and boys along the dusty road, the crowd all the while milling about him shouting and merrymaking in informal delight.

We followed to the little village church where a service of welcome and rejoicing was to lead up to his response. One side of the building was open toward a porch connecting with the priests' quarters. Here the crowd overflowed. In the church itself there were no pews. The worshippers sat on the bare floor and the railing or leaned against a convenient wall or post. Here and there, a family brought out a picnic lunch and spread it on the floor of the church. Babies sucked at their mothers' breasts. Children munched cookies. Men wandered in and out. Women conversed with their neighbors in whispers. A low hum of moving and talking humanity made it difficult to catch more than an occasional word of the bishop's address. It was all very informal and casual—in striking contrast to the intent and reverent silence which we had come to expect in services of the Reformed

churches. Suddenly there was a benediction. The worshippers thronged out. Merrymaking began afresh. We left Monseigneur surrounded by his carefree and joyous flock.

*iii*

Monseigneur is a missionary of the Society of the Divine Word, an Order known as the Steyl Fathers which was founded in 1875 by Germans exiled to Holland through Bismarck's Kulturkampf. Its membership is mainly German and Dutch though there are several Houses of the Order in the United States. The Steyl Fathers have exclusive responsibility for education and evangelization in this section of the Netherlands Indies and are conducting one of the most successful programs of mass-evangelism anywhere in the world. Their most notable work is on the neighboring island of Flores where an energetic band of eighty priests and some thirty lay-brothers and sisters aided by a large corps of native teachers have brought two thirds of the island population of 300,000 into the Roman Catholic Church.

For two long and exhausting days, we motored across Flores (some 200 miles) on a single track road unspeakably rough through scenery indescribably beautiful, along the edge of mountainsides with breath-taking views across sparkling blue water to islands and headlands beyond, then through gorges and canyons of massive grandeur. On the whole journey we passed only one car; there are less than a dozen on the island. Occasionally, we drove through sizeable villages, constructed wholly of bamboo and straw except for one little tin-roofed building with cross above and the single house of the priest near by. Our fellow-traveller, a young Dutch naturalist and himself a Protestant, grunted, "They live right with the people. Not like the Protestant missionaries."

As we were honking our way through a village street swarming with naked children (there are no signs of race-suicide on Flores), we passed a white man in khaki uniform

leading his horse through the confusion of boys and girls who mobbed him from every side. "A priest, an American," commented our driver in Malay. Quickly we turned and overtook him. Sure enough, he proved to be a Steyl Father from Tecny near Chicago who had been recruited for pioneer service in Flores seven years before. At first he fumbled for words and apologized for his English; disuse had almost robbed him of his native tongue. Like a very rusty machine wheezing into action, he gradually regained command and told us many interesting things about the island and its people, his Order and its work. Their strategy is very simple. All education is committed to their charge by the Dutch Government which subsidizes village schools and teaching force. They count on drawing the children into the schools, and thence into the Church. Sometimes, the parents follow. Tomorrow's parents are theirs in any event.

*iv*

That night we spent in the see-town of Ende. The next morning, Sunday, we strolled through the village and up to the cathedral. It is almost new, a monument to the labors of the Dutch bishop who pioneered this extraordinary work. A most satisfying building it is—a rectangular cement exterior, and plain almost to the point of barrenness within. Instead of pews are rows of benches an inch or so from the floor on which the worshippers may kneel or sit as they do in their own huts. On the walls, the sole decorations are paintings of the Stations of the Cross, done in bold colors and realistic fashion. Behind the chaste, dignified altar hangs a striking painting of the Ascent into Heaven after the same manner. Among the saints are two with dark brown skins, and below, groups of winsome stalwart brown men and women in native costume are depicted aspiring upward. In unadornment, this sanctuary might easily be mistaken for a Low Church Episcopal edifice. In a Portuguese cathedral on a near-by island we had been even more astounded to



find similar plainness. Apparently work among primitive animists with their superstitious rigmaroles and their congeries of fetishes has driven all effective Roman Catholic missionaries to stark simplicity.

Near the cathedral, the Steyl Fathers conduct a trade school where a hundred native lads from nine to fifteen, chosen from all the village schools for aptitude and promise, are in residence for three years of intensive training. As directed by the priest from Chicago, we made inquiry for a German-American lay-brother, a cobbler from near Erie, Pa., who also had come out seven years ago to take charge of the shoemaking work. He and several companions piloted us through the school—well-equipped and immaculate shops for tailoring, carpentry, shoemaking, machine-repairing, printing, etc. We found the printshop busy at the production of a new series of reading-books for the lowest grades of the village schools, the text in Malay illustrated with unpretentious but intriguing drawings in two colors. All other products of the shops—clothes, shoes, furniture, machinery—appear to be for the direct use of the brothers and sisters. A few miles out from Ende, a theological seminary is preparing for the native priesthood a carefully selected group of young men who have passed up the successive rungs of the educational ladder. Thus far the Steyl Fathers have withheld ordination, though several young Malaysians are now on the way.



Roman Catholic missions raise many interesting questions. Undoubtedly, a celibate ministry forces its members close to the life of the native peoples and encourages single-minded devotion; a solitary priest, the only white man in a district, *must* sink his whole existence amongst his parishioners or expire. The informality which marked the service of thanksgiving for Monseigneur's return brings worship also very close to the common life; clearly the people feel that the church is theirs, and come and go in it almost as

in their own homes. Catholicism makes minimum demands for alteration of habit and thought, and so lends itself to "mass conversions." The exclusively or predominantly "foreign" priesthood assures continuity with the Great Tradition and evades many of the most harassing problems of Protestant leadership with its heavy dependence upon an ill-trained native ministry.

On the other hand, one cannot confront the place held in primitive religion by sacred places and sacred objects, reverence for ancestors and for spirits, without realizing how easily Christian worship may slide into the same superstitions, and how far toward that descent much Roman Catholicism has actually slipped. One cannot be certain how great is the psychological and spiritual distance for primitive worshippers between the employment of animistic and Christian symbols. A pure Christianity must make bold to insist, "God is a spirit; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." Again, an initial enthusiasm for this splendid trade school is somewhat cooled when one learns that positions cannot be found for its graduates or a market for its products because the people do not want its output of Western clothes, boots, furniture and machinery.

The priests live commendably close to their flocks, but they and their Church have hardly begun to grapple with the deeper issues of sound indigenization—the true ingrafting of Christian faith and Christian practice within the fabric of primitive culture. The issue is not wholly between breadth and depth of Christian penetration, but it is partly that. Commenting to a Protestant missionary on the contrast between absence of pews in Catholic churches and use of pews in Protestant churches (for even in remote villages, the latter tend to have pews or chairs), we were told that Protestant Christians prefer pews because they have begun to institute chairs in their own homes. In this is a good hint of difference in philosophy and methods of evangelism—a difference which goes far beyond seating facilities.

## 5.

# *Missions on Bali?*

OUR FIRST APPROACH TO BALI WAS FROM Australia by a leisurely Dutch passenger ship. One of our fellow-travellers, a New Zealander of regal bearing and positive convictions, seemed somewhat aghast to discover that her table-companion was a Christian minister, and that he was headed for a missionary conference. "You believe in missions, then?" she inquired. I nodded a non-committal affirmative. "But not in Bali!" she protested. "Surely no one believes in introducing Christianity among the Balinese."

It was a testing query. I reserved any attempt at answer until we should have gained some insight on the matter at firsthand.

### *ii*

If ever a case could be argued for guarding a native culture against invasion by every external influence, it would be with regard to Bali. Such protection would appear to be especially important for the native religion since there religion is involved in every aspect of the culture, indeed is its keystone.

Bali is one of the rare places which shame the extravagant claims of travel circulars. Like the Grand Canyon or the Taj Mahal, it does not disappoint either the most romantic or the most blasé visitor. Indeed, if one can escape the clutches of travel agents and their well-rutted programs and, eluding fellow-tourists, wander at will here and there about the island and amongst its myriad villages, he will discover

himself transported into a world of pervasive beauty and a society instinct with spontaneous art unparalleled elsewhere on the earth. The most extraordinary thing about Bali and the Balinese is this universal artistic feeling in each man, woman and child which envelops almost every aspect of their life and is shared and delighted in by all, young and old alike.

The heart of Balinese culture, and of Balinese religion, is the dance.

We had been on the island less than an hour. We were motoring across from the port of Boeleng to Den Passar, the principal town, on the opposite side. The road rises sheer from the water's edge about five thousand feet with glorious views out to sea beyond the harbor where our ship still lay at anchor. Our car had crossed the divide and began to descend the southern slope by more leisurely gradients. Passing through a tiny mountain hamlet at the noon hour, we noted a crowd of villagers gathered behind a hedge just off the road. The faint notes of a gong followed us. An inquiry of our driver elicited an indication that it was "a dance." He stopped the car and we walked back. Not ten feet from the road in an open square among the bamboo huts, the entire village was assembled—men fresh from the rice-fields, their legs caked with mud from plowing, women suckling babies at their breasts, near-naked children of all sizes, the omnipresent mongrel dogs. At one side, the village orchestra or "gamalang" of a dozen clear-toned gongs and drums mostly in the hands of young boys was playing an exquisite bit of Balinese music. In the center of the clearing, three girls not over ten years of age dressed in traditional costume were executing the movements of a classic dance. In perfect unison and with consummate grace, the little figures turned and twisted, every motion of body or hand or face expressive of some subtle meaning, much of the meaning conveyed by the most delicate movement of the fingers or almost imper-

ceptible flicker of the eyes. To describe the dance as a superlative artistic achievement would be to imprison instinctive and spontaneous beauty within artificial categories of definition, and so to falsify it. It was a scene of incommunicable loveliness. Presently the dance concluded. Every one returned to his work. We drove on. But one's imagination could not fail to leap to the usual occupations of American factory workers or farmers at the noon hour, and to ponder the contrast. This was our introduction to Bali.

The finest dancing is by these tiny girls between eight and twelve, for it is prescribed that at twelve years of age they must stop. Obviously, there is no slightest sensual appeal. The movements are highly stylized and passed down in intricate detail from generation to generation. Usually, though not always, they have a religious significance. In certain dances comedy parts are taken by older men, often in grotesque masques, to the keen amusement of the onlookers. Indeed, one suspects that in Bali, as elsewhere in the world, it is the elements of burlesque which most delight the common people. Every tiniest village has its own gamalang and carefully trained dancers. At almost any hour but especially toward evening when the day's work is finished, as the visitor passes along the narrow roads with campongs crowding on either side, he may expect to hear the dull beating of the drums and the deep notes of the gongs and to come upon a performance of exquisite skill and charm.

Subsequently one learns that dances, as the matrix of social tradition, are prescribed by the village headman or priest, that attendance is required and that fines are exacted from truants. This element of compulsion does not appear to detract from popular enjoyment and certainly not from beauty and distinction of performance.

iii

It would be an untrue impression that the gamalang and dancing constitute the whole of Balinese life and Balinese

religion. Other features equally inwoven in the culture are less admirable and less easily idealized. The side of the road in every village is lined by wicker-cages. In them are exhibited the pride of the Balinese men—their cocks. Cock-fighting is their great diversion. Invariably it is accompanied by the most profligate gambling. It is no uncommon thing for the confident owner to stake not merely the entire family income, but all their possessions including their campong and their rice-fields and even their future crops, and to lose all upon a single battle. Debts thus incurred encumber subsequent generations and constitute one of the gravest social problems. So serious, indeed, that law now prescribes that cock-fighting shall take place only on the occasion of religious festivals! Thus the linkage of gambling and religion is not so much encouraged as recognized. Then, too, there are problems of the relation of religious practice to sexual immorality, though in this matter one receives conflicting reports.

Still other questions arise in connection with burial traditions. Hindu custom requires the cremation of the dead. In Bali it is a very expensive rite. Lofty pyres are raised, elaborate decorations are hung, grotesque figures made of wood and cloth and bamboo are lifted into the flames; there must be gamalangs and dances and costly celebrations. The poor can only afford cremations en masse, therefore they bury their dead temporarily and dig them up on the occasion of a general burning. But the wealthy insist upon cremation immediately after death. A single ceremony will run into tens of thousands of dollars. Here, likewise, the beautiful and the grotesque, the sublime and the vulgar, the spiritual and the sensual are knit into a single fabric of social custom. The warp of that closely woven culture is religion.

Thus is disclosed the heart of the problem of "missions on Bali." Its people are almost entirely Hindu though the populations of the near-by islands of the Dutch Indies are

Muslim and of the more distant islands animist. Indeed, in every aspect of their existence—their insulation from Western influence, their primitive agriculture, their ideas, their art, their religion—the Balinese are set off from their neighbors, akin to them in race and origins, sharply contrasted with them in culture. That culture in its every phase—economics, morals, family-life, beliefs, social customs, religious practice—is held in place within an organic unity. This is the secret of the preservation and recreation of Bali's extraordinary art. The cohesive force is their traditional religion.

*iv*

Two illustrations will serve to point the problem.

One afternoon as we were passing through a typical campong, we noted the villagers busy at the erection of delicate decorations. Tall lithe bamboo stalks with rice tied at their tips lined the roadside, the waving tops almost meeting to make an archway. We learned that the village was being prepared for a harvest festival the following evening. We resolved to return if possible.

It was nearly dusk when we reached there the next day. Already the celebration had begun. Toward us along the roadway, the women of the village came walking single file in natural but dignified procession under the waving bamboo archway toward the entrance of the Hindu temple. Naked above the waist, they were swathed in gay and gorgeous sarongs. On each head, perfectly balanced, was borne a rattan tray. On each tray, piled several feet high, was an offering of the family's best produce—ripe rice fresh from the fields, fruit newly picked, green vegetables, delicate morsels of meat just cooked and spiked on wooden prongs, even fresh-laid eggs—all arranged with consummate intuitive delicacy, flowers inwoven amongst the food, to make an ensemble which the most fastidious hostess would have rejoiced to have as a table decoration. Slowly, they filed into

the open court of the temple and handed their offerings to the priest; these were lifted onto the altar with prayers; there was a further procession to the sacred banyan tree; more prayers and the burning of incense; a return to the temple; further prayers; and the women bore their richly laden trays home again. Having received the blessing of the gods, they would supply the substance of the feast to follow. As we drove away, the gamalang was tuning up for the inevitable dance which would fully match the grace and beauty of the ceremony. Probably a cock-fight would serve as climax to the celebration. It was the most altogether lovely thing we saw in Bali.

We drove on directly to another sacred and famous center of Bali worship—the “Bats’ Cave.” A dark and filthy cavern is peopled by thousands of bats, clinging to the roof, darting to the open entrance and back into the gloomy interior, cheeping incessantly, giving off nauseating odors which penetrate far into the open air. These creatures are believed to possess sacred powers. So it is a holy spot. Just at the entrance is a little shrine, covered in part by offerings of flowers and rice placed there by worshippers, in part by black and foul refuse from the bats. I never expected such vivid point to be given to the familiar old hymn lines:

“Shall every idol perish,  
To moles and bats be thrown?”

It was almost the most repulsive sight we saw in all our observation of non-Christian religions. As we stood at some distance, driven off by the unendurable odors, two lovely little Balinese women approached, clad in their gayest and most delicate sarongs of clear, strong colors. In their hands they carried offerings arranged with the same artistry which had marked the harvest festival. They laid their offerings upon the filthy altar, and knelt in prayer. A dozen bats darted and screeched just overhead.



These two pictures reveal some of the issues in the introduction of Christianity not only in Bali but among adherents of non-Christian faiths generally.

Particularly in externals, these religions often bring rebuke to much Christian faith and practice. That rebuke is almost always at the point of beauty. In concern for grace of form, in artistic feeling, in sincerity and loveliness of offerings, non-Christian practices not infrequently shame the frigidity and externality of our worship. They lay hold upon the impulses in all human nature which yearns to present its best to God. They touch deep springs of spontaneous oblation and adoration.

On the other hand, they furnish a warning against the ever-present danger of degradation in Christian worship. One cannot observe the lower elements in their practice without realizing how readily the same tendencies seep into our religious life. The crude, the vulgar, the superstitious attaches itself to their pantheons, images and fetishes and thus perverts purity of feeling; but what of these features in much popular Roman Catholicism and even some Protestantism? Often their shrines are crude, tawdry, unelevating; but what of our houses of worship? Frequently the figures which decorate their temples and suggest the meaning of their faith to that most sensitive medium of education, the eye, are grotesque, ugly, repulsive; but what about the figures which adorn our cathedrals and churches, even some of the newest and proudest? Their devotion is often primitive, materialistic, mundane; but what of the *actual* spiritual life of our average church-goer? In the practices of worship there is no sharp line between non-Christians and Christians.

However, the deeper and stronger impression is the need of Christianity, of Christian worship at its purest. Almost without exception, non-Christian practice is a strange amal-

gam of the lovely and the sordid, the cheap and the moving. Characteristically it is a conglomerate of miscellaneous elements, lacking inner consistency and, more serious, lacking any power of self-criticism, self-purification, self-renewal. Even with the highest in non-Christian religions, true Christian worship stands in vivid contrast; it surpasses their best. Its hymnody voices its authentic aspiration:

“Spirit of God, descend upon my heart . . .  
My heart an altar, and Thy love the flame.”

And the great original inspiration of its developed hymnody speaks the secret of its incomparably loftier devotion:

“Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness . . .

Thou desirest truth in the inward parts. . . .

Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. . . .

Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it. . . .

The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.”

*vi*

The problem in Bali is complicated by two special factors, one temporary and transient, the other more serious and fundamental.

Some years ago, one of the more conservative American sects of which few Americans have ever heard sent representatives among the Balinese. So explosive was the latter's resentment that the Dutch Government was forced to intervene, requested the Americans to withdraw, and threatened to forbid all open missionary effort for the time being.

The other conditioning factor is more puzzling. If one were searching the varieties of Protestantism for a type of worship which is at the farthest possible remove from all that is instinctive to the Balinese, he might easily fasten upon

the Reformed church of Holland. The solid but stolid temperament of the Dutch is proverbial. Their break from the degraded worship of pre-Reformation Romanism was symbolized by the most rigorous excision of all outward forms; the churches of Utrecht and Amsterdam and Leiden still bear mute witness to the thoroughness of the iconoclasm. Their church edifices and their worship, whether in the home country or in their missions, are characterized by severity almost to barrenness. There is much inner beauty of spirit; the most generous estimate could hardly speak of beauty of external form.

Were the Protestant missionary enterprise guided by a grand strategy uninfluenced by political circumstances, it is doubtful if its leaders would have selected the Dutch churches to bring Christian faith to Bali. But that tiny island happens to have fallen within the Dutch colonial influence. Almost inevitably, missionaries of the ruling nation are responsible for its evangelization. In such matters political factors influence, and perhaps retard, the larger effectiveness of the Universal Church.

It must be added most emphatically, however, that the Dutch mission societies are fully sensitive to all the delicate and important issues in the problem. Indeed their present policy furnishes a particularly gratifying illustration of missionary wisdom and statesmanship. They are keenly appreciative of the artistic heritage and temperaments of the Balinese and resolved that these must not be imperilled. They have united to bring an especially qualified anthropologist to Bali to advise them regarding any steps which might be taken. Javanese Christians, racial-kinfolk to the Balinese, have been eager to start one or more unobtrusive and unpretentious Christian communities on the island; doubtless, if Christianity is again introduced, it will be through their quiet and trustworthy initiative. Henceforth any missionary work will take as its goal Christian faith and worship

which shall safeguard all that is finest in the customs and genius of the people.

As indicated above, the principal objection to bringing Christianity to Bali is that the present religion is the warp of the Balinese culture inwoven with which, as the woof, are all the varied elements of its life, especially its art. This complex structure of culture, it is contended, must continue in its entirety or disintegrate. To alter the warp might endanger everything. It appears more than probable, however, that the future of this close-knit cultural pattern will be determined less by the fate of its religion than by other factors which have already worked their transforming influence upon almost all near-by peoples. It is doubtful how long Bali can be kept in artificial insulation, motivated one fears less by sincere concern for its culture than by desire for its exploitation as a tourists' paradise. Thus far, native life is remarkably unspoilt, but one discerns ominous signs. The immediately adjacent island of Lombok, which is ethnically, historically, politically, and possibly geologically an appendix to Bali, with its far greater industry and prosperity, its higher standards of living, of morality and of education, and the apparent contentment of its inhabitants, gives some indication of what Bali might be expected to become if cultural exploitation led on to commercial exploitation. Perhaps the larger question regarding Bali is, if the variegated woof of its political, social and economic customs suffers transmutation at the hands of modern civilization, can the warp of its traditional religion remain unaffected?

Yes, Bali needs Christianity, needs it badly. But the only Christianity which is worthy of so rare and artistic a people is Christian faith and worship in all its fulness, richness and loveliness. This is precisely the goal which the Dutch missionaries hold for possible future work in Bali. Indeed, that is the only Christianity thoroughly appropriate for any of the sons and daughters of the God of holiness and grace.

## *Training Tomorrow's Leaders*

WE HAD BEEN FELLOW-PASSENGERS FOR SEVERAL days before I discovered that a very alert and energetic young man who had joined our ship at the last port was a missionary to whom we had letters of introduction. A former chairman of the Dutch Student Christian Movement, only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, he holds a pastorate at Koepang and has a general supervisory responsibility for the large staff of Malayan preachers and their congregations throughout the near-by islands. In painful, stumbling English, he was eager to talk. From him I learned much of the concrete problems of the Malayan churches.

### *ii*

Apart from the pastorates of churches in the few principal towns and occasional visitation by Dutch missionaries, the whole task of direct leadership, teaching and evangelism falls upon the native ministry. Think what that means.

The typical Malayan preacher has himself been born and reared in the rattan hut of a native campong, speaking and understanding only the particular dialect of his district. Like the other lads of his village, he has gone to the local mission school where the only teacher is a fellow tribesman just a couple of rungs above himself on the educational ladder. Here instruction has been in the vernacular and possibly in Malay which the teacher has had to master in the very elementary normal school training. Perhaps the lad has shown promise and with no little effort it has been arranged that

he shall go on for two years to a school of second rank. Here some of the teaching may be by Dutch missionaries but it will still be wholly in the Malay tongue. Finally has come his "theological course," mainly rather elementary Bible training. Here his instructors are principally Europeans, but instruction and conversation are still in Malay. He has learned no Dutch—the native language and thought-structure of his teachers. All of the interpretation of Christian faith has been conveyed in a language native to neither instructor nor pupil. Then he is thrust forth among his own people to interpret that faith to them in his and their vernacular.

When one reflects on the very limited perspectives of the average minister at home with the advantage of full college and seminary training and continuous challenge from viewpoints and traditions other than his own, one wonders what the nature of Christian interpretation *is* which is given through the native preaching. The marvel is not that it is often partial and inadequate but that it is so amazingly true and effective. For one cannot be with these simple "new-born" Christians five minutes without recognizing the authentic, if limited, Christian stamp upon them. Whatever remnants of pre-Christian conceptions and practices may be carried over into their new allegiance, the contrast between their childlike Christianity and the thought-world and habits of their non-Christian neighbors is overwhelming. So far as the secret can be discerned, it would appear to lie in two facts—the deep life-determining reality of genuine Christian experience everywhere, and the amazing adequacy of the Bible and the Bible alone as the textbook of Christian faith.

*iii*

Nevertheless there are difficulties. Our new friend gave several painful illustrations.

A native minister whom he visited complained that every-

one and everything were wrong—except himself. Eventually the visitor was able to insinuate a suggestion that at least part of the pastor's difficulties might lie within himself. The latter became deeply conscience-smitten, resolved radically to change his attitudes, and to so inform his people at the service the following day. His sermon was eloquent and moving. But it was in his own dialect which the missionary did not understand. The latter inquired of an elder the substance of the sermon. "He is promising the people that if they behave and are honest and treat their wives decently, Jesus Christ will give them choice places in Heaven." Rather disheartening for any bishop or superintendent or elder counsellor. But for a Dutch Calvinist deeply steeped in Karl Barth, almost unendurable!

Another timid little native preacher who looked as though a breath of scorn would blow him away labored faithfully for a dozen years to win a vital Christian community among a predominantly Muslim population—one of two Christian congregations in an island of 200,000 people. He led his people to the securing of a beautiful little church of their own and the founding of a solid work. But the preacher's wife drinks heavily and in other ways disgraces his labors. The missionary must attempt to deal with *that* problem in the course of his visitation.

Over such obstacles and by such fragile human instruments, the Kingdom of God is being realized in these far corners of the world. Nevertheless, it continues to increase and to propagate. More important, that which grows and reproduces stands in the most vivid contrast to the enveloping life and culture but in unmistakable continuity with a Community formed in Galilee nineteen centuries ago.

#### *iv*

Moreover, there are more heartening aspects to this difficult yet crucial problem of the education of indigenous leadership. Most of the training of the native ministry is necessarily

conducted in the local dialects and Malay, at schools located amongst the outer islands close to the life of the people, and under the limitations hinted above. But in Java, there are two seminaries of higher grade. At Batavia I visited the leading theological college of the Dutch East Indies.

The seminary at Batavia is fortunate in its location and equipment. Buildings formerly occupied by a girls' boarding school furnish ideal quarters with ample though austere dormitories, excellent study and lecture rooms, facilities for sports, and a delightful quadrangle where teachers and pupils may share thought and comradeship in an atmosphere of detachment at the heart of a big city.

The students number about thirty-five, drawn from almost as many different areas of this widespread island empire and reared in perhaps two dozen native vernaculars. Many of them come from homes of the most primitive circumstance and opportunity. They have worked their way up the familiar rungs of the educational ladder and must have had the fullest preparation available to them before entering seminary. Of course they must also have demonstrated exceptional promise. Nevertheless, few have had the advantage of a university course. For those who lack adequate preparation in languages, history, philosophy, etc., two preliminary years largely occupied with these subjects must be taken in advance of the regular theological curriculum.

The theological course proper carries on three years beyond this foundation-laying.

Seminars play a large rôle in the scheme of instruction. Every student is in a seminar with each instructor during each year of his schooling. Here problems both theoretical and practical, Biblical and theological, are thrashed out in intimate discussion through a whole term's intensive study. A sounder provision for the education of men seeking to penetrate the deeper ranges of Christian faith from very limited backgrounds could hardly be devised.

Another wise requirement sends every student home each



summer to his own community where he joins again in its life, helps in the leadership of its church, and studies some special aspect of its culture. A project for investigation is assigned for each summer holiday. At the end of the first year, the topic is purposely secular in character—the fauna or crafts or traditions of the homeland—and is calculated to deepen the student's understanding, both appreciative and critical, of the culture of his people and himself. In later summers, his inquiries go on to the character of the native religions, then to problems of the Christian churches in his homeland, etc. Carefully drafted reports furnished with tables, statistics and exhibits must be submitted on return to school each autumn. A hasty scrutiny of several typical reports tempted one to hours of delving into these extraordinarily fascinating records. Incidentally they are accumulating in the seminary library not a little valuable data—raw materials for some scholar's future research as well as for more effective instruction in the school.

Just before the final year a longer break of eight months or a year is interpolated. Again the student returns home, this time to take full responsibility for a regular parish. Most of the instruction in practical theology follows the return from this final period of field experience.

The language requirements for the course? Each student must be able to speak Malay and Dutch and to read German and English in addition to his native dialect. He must continue to drill in the latter throughout his training-period lest disuse alienate him from the speech of his own people. On the library shelves, the most advanced books in all four languages rub covers. In the latter years assignments are made in the four languages indifferently. What theological college in the world demands a more exacting equipment—four foreign languages plus one's own vernacular? And this for lads some of whom are fresh from the hamlets of the jungle and the superstitions of primitive animism!

The staff of instruction for so comprehensive and exacting a theological curriculum? All the teaching except certain drill in languages, is carried by two professors. Splendidly equipped they are, both in theological scholarship and in ripe experience of practical missionary service in contrasted segments of this vast and diverse field for which they must prepare an expert leadership.

We sat for some time discussing technical problems of theological training. My admiration for their broad and sound conception of their task and for their own prodigious industry and devotion in backbreaking assignments steadily deepened. Eventually our talk inevitably veered to theology, to differences between the East and the West, to the significance of the Dialectical Theology in which they were profoundly interested. I voiced my great hope that the near future might witness the appearance of a genuinely "indigenous" Far Eastern Christian theology, and that it might help to dissolve the vicious antagonism between "Continental" and "American" theology by its radical contrast to both. They fully shared this hope. They confessed it as one of the ultimate objectives of their work. "What theology do you teach your students?" I inquired, expecting that the answer would point either to traditional Dutch dogmatics or to the newer teaching of Karl Barth. "We try to introduce our students exclusively to the theology of the Bible. Only from solid grounding in the Bible and in the Bible alone can come the new Christian theology for these younger churches which shall be both genuinely indigenous and truly Christian." They had laid their fingers on the only possible seedplot not only for a sound indigenous theology but also for an adequate ecumenical theology for a united Christendom.



The Madras Conference was entirely right in declaring: "It is our conviction that the present condition of theological

education is one of the greatest weaknesses in the whole Christian enterprise." Some of the baffling and disheartening difficulties in the problem will suggest themselves from what is said above. Yet they do not wholly excuse the present inadequacies. In some centers where more intelligent and united effort might make available reasonably adequate resources, the present training is pitifully weak.

Moreover, that the existing deficiencies are not mainly due to limitations in equipment and leadership is convincingly proven by this tiny seminary in Batavia. It furnishes a demonstration of what can be accomplished with meager facilities and a minimum staff through wise planning and tireless devotion. I have no hesitancy in affirming that there is no theological college in Europe or America which can begin to rival it in clear-eyed purpose, in comprehensiveness and sagacity of basic conception, in soundness of curricular structure, in adaptation of resources to its distinctive responsibilities, above all in subjection of every aspect of its endeavor to the one central task of preparing competently equipped leadership for a particular segment of the Church of Christ. I drove away pondering when theological education in the West will learn wisdom and go to school to the mission field.

7.

## *Medicine for a Million*

JAVA IS THE PRIDE OF THE DUTCH. THEY DELIGHT to speak of it as the crowning gem in their girdle of island jewels which band the western Pacific for close to four thousand miles. When we submitted a tentative itinerary to three or four Dutch friends for their advice, each independently returned the same protest, "Why are you planning so much time for those little outer islands? Give a few days to them, if you must. But reserve the major part of your month in the Netherlands Indies for Java."

Be it confessed (though in a whisper lest our Dutch friends overhear), after "those little outer islands," Java proved something of an anticlimax. There is magnificent scenery in Java, but hardly to be compared with that which unrolls itself hour after hour and day after day as one cruises among the Moluccas and Lesser Sunda Islands. There are natural wonders on Java—semi-active volcanoes, especially; but hardly so striking or lovely as the extraordinary lakes of three colors atop Mount Gelimutu on Flores, or the brilliant subterranean coral gardens at Banda Neira. Native Javanese life and art are interesting, though neither so unusual nor so unspoilt as the culture of any other part of the archipelago. Two of the world's most glorious temple ruins are in Java, and these cannot be duplicated elsewhere; though we thought the overwhelming magnificence of the buried civilization of Angkor in French Indo-China more fascinating. That which really distinguishes Java are the roads and railroads, the handsome

European buildings and modern improvements which Dutch enterprise has sprinkled across the island. These are, perhaps, the real ground of Dutch pride; they are features which rather lessen the allurements of Java for visitors. In any event, to travellers contemplating a visit to the Netherlands Indies, our strong advice would be, "Save a day or so for Java by all means. But under no circumstances miss the charm and beauty and inexhaustible interest of a voyage among the outer islands."

ii

If Java is the pride of the Dutch, Bandoeng is the pride of Java. Situated at an elevation of 2300 feet amidst towering volcano peaks and barely three hours from the capital city of Batavia, its climate offers respite from the torrid heat of the plains. Almost the whole year through, it is a delightful "hill station." Here center many of the educational and cultural institutions of the Indies as well as vacation homes and hotels. The city itself is mainly a recent, and thoroughly Western, creation. Broad asphalt avenues, imposing public buildings, spacious Dutch residences, resort hotels persuade one that he is in the modernistic section of Amsterdam or The Hague except, alas, that there is no old-world beauty of architecture and atmosphere to complement the shiny modernity. Bandoeng was the closest approximation to Asheville or Denver or Pasadena we saw beyond the 180th meridian.

Our hosts guided us mainly to the natural wonders in the environs. We visited a number of volcano craters. Hour after hour we drove among tea groves and quinine plantations brightened with brilliant poinsettias and flowering bananas, and then through dense jungles of dark green amidst which the pure white of wild lilies blossomed with uncommon beauty. On every hand were inescapable signs of Dutch efficiency and industry. As we passed through the city itself, one and another of the public buildings were pointed out.

A great municipal hospital was particularly impressive. Almost unconsciously one thought, "No need for missions here at least."

*iii*

Unexpected, therefore, was a suggestion just at the close of our stay that we might care to visit the mission hospital. Rather unthinkingly we acquiesced.

Our car pulled up before a low-ranging one-storied building, well-built and well-kept though much less imposing than the city hospital. The physician in charge, a handsome Dutch surgeon, greeted us. He introduced his associate, a young Javanese doctor who apologized for his stumbling English. It was explained that he was just beginning the study of English—in order that he might be able to take an intelligent part in the forthcoming Madras Conference, where English would be the only official language. Four months later we were to meet again at Madras. By then his command of our tongue was sufficient to enable him to serve most effectively as secretary of the Section on "The Christian Ministry of Health and Healing"! Many of the American delegates could boast no language other than their own.

We were conducted first to a wing at the far end of the hospital which is given over entirely to the treatment of narcotic addicts, mainly in the grip of opium, heroin and morphia. It is one of the foremost experiment stations in the cure of the drug habit in the East and is largely sustained by the Dutch Government. A demonstration of opium smoking was given by one of the attendants. We saw patients at various stages of treatment, and were told that permanent cure can be expected in hardly more than ten per cent of the cases. Here we heard for the first time the sad story one encounters everywhere in Eastern Asia—that drug addiction is spreading rapidly, that it is due almost entirely to illicit traffic by Japanese peddlers, and that their operations appear

to be with the permission if not the connivance of their government. Even among missionary physicians with no political prejudices, one meets on all sides a mounting resentment against a nation which has refused to join forces with the rest of the civilized world under the leadership of the League of Nations to stamp out this ghastly curse upon humanity.

After we had inspected the regular wards, clinics, laboratories and operating rooms, I ventured the question which had been puzzling me, "Since there is such a splendid public hospital in Bandoeng, what is the need for your services?" "Oh, that is a municipal hospital," replied the head doctor, "its responsibility does not extend beyond the city limits." Then, sweeping his arm around the arc of encircling mountains, he added, "In the bowl made by the mountains and outside the city but within a radius of twenty-five miles from this spot, live one million Javanese. There is our field."

Then he explained the organization of the medical service. At Bandoeng, which lies almost in the middle of the plateau, is located the principal center—the hospital itself with its various special departments and facilities. Here, all major operations are performed and more serious illnesses are brought for slow treatment. At three central locations in the field are sub-hospitals for emergency cases and less drastic treatments; at each a trained nurse is in charge. At more remote and widely scattered points, twelve district dispensaries are open at certain hours daily. All sixteen centers are in immediate communication by telephone. One of the staff-physicians visits each unit at least once each day. The system of splendid government roads brings the farthest dispensary within less than an hour of the main hospital. Ambulance and motor service assure quick and adequate attention to the most serious ailments. By this unpretentious but skillful system, medical aid is made available to a million people.

*iv*

As we returned to our hotel through the spacious drives and fine dwellings of this lovely and fashionable hill-retreat of government and business, two reflections flitted through my mind.

While my ignorance of all things medical is abysmal, might not the center at Bandoeng serve as something of a model of what medical missions should and could be? At how many spots on the earth's surface should a similar service be instituted with its modest but adequate central hospital, its special equipment for particularly virulent diseases or ailments, its well-placed sub-hospitals, its network of dispensaries, its small but wisely deployed staff of competently trained doctors and nurses in intimate and friendly contact with the whole population? What greater possibility offers to a Foundation or an individual of means who wishes maximum return on investment in amelioration of human suffering?

At the heart of the most affluent and proudest center of one of the most enlightened and efficient colonial empires, apparently there is still need for missions. Even here, the only agency which reaches out in humanitarian help to the millions "beyond the city limits" is the ministry of health and healing of the Christian Church.



## 8.

*Diversities of Gifts....*

OUR INTRODUCTION TO CHINA CAME AT Hongkong. Our ship lay in harbor all day on the way north.

No one had prepared us for Hongkong. History records it, like Singapore, as reclaimed from unhealthy swamps by shrewd British foresight to make a trade and naval base. The map indicates it as situated on the edge of a wide bay, an estuary of the Hsi Kiang River. Actually it must possess the most dramatic and impressive location of any port in the world. We visited a dozen magnificent harbors—Honolulu, Suva, Auckland, Wellington, Sydney, Singapore, Yokohama, Bombay, Aden, Malta; but none can rival Hongkong.

The ship drew toward shore in the gray of early dawn. As she felt her way slowly inland from the sea, the estuary narrowed until it appeared hardly possible for two ships to pass. Through the slit in the deep hills, buildings began to appear climbing one above the other up the steep shores, not houses but great stone and concrete structures which all gave the appearance of public edifices. Suddenly the estuary became peopled with junks, hundreds of them it seemed with their ungainly broad beams and great square sterns, wider even than their midships, lifted high above the water. Most of them had sails set—square canvases blotched with variegated patches like antique quilts. They were headed for the open

sea and fishing grounds. Some were being rowed either entirely or to supplement the sails. The rowers were standing, sometimes two at the bow, another at midships and one or two toward the stern. At the oars, women were more prominent than men, and always much more active. A not uncommon sight was four or five women rowing vigorously, tirelessly with a solitary man steering casually at the helm; or perhaps another man or two turning a lackadaisical oar in striking contrast to the sharp full-muscled strokes of the women.

Presently the river widened and we came fully into the bowl of the harbor itself. What a sight! At either shore close hills lifting 1200 feet straight from the water, ringed with these great buildings rising in tiers step upon step clear to the top. In the bowl half a dozen large steamers riding at anchor. Then, almost every foot of harbor cluttered with smaller craft—junks, tugs, motor-launches, rowing canoes. Hundreds, thousands of them, one would think, jostling so close together that one seems to see no open water, only sails and hulls. The ship plows slowly forward. There is no possibility of steering among the harbor craft or taking any account of them. By some marvel they dodge the ship as it swings around, and dodge each other as they lurch this way and that in uncertain and precarious fashion.

Later the cable-car pulls us up the cliff behind the city proper to "The Peak," the ridge at its top. Sitting here with one's feet dangling down the hillside, one feels almost like a small boy surveying his toy-harbor, as though one might reach out a finger and move these tiny craft dotting the surface below.

On one side of the ridge lies Hongkong harbor with its busy shipping—half a dozen cruisers of three or four navies, two or three ocean liners, many small freighters and coastal steamers, and innumerable Chinese junks, making their way in and out of the intricate and overcrowded waterway. One

feels about this harbor that one or two additional large ships would overflow it and wash dozens of small craft up on its banks, and that it is a continuous miracle that half a hundred junks and rowboats are not run down or capsized daily.

Across the harbor lies the sister-city of Kowloon. Behind it rise further high hills to make the other rim of the bowl. Beyond them stretches a belt of glorious woodland and ravines and open country to the limits of the British territory. Just beyond that, on our later visit to Hongkong, bitter fighting was in progress where the Japanese had launched an expeditionary force. Above the harbor the river widens and stretches in broad curving bays out of sight in the direction of Canton, its surface dotted with many sparkling little islands.

On the other side of The Peak, equally steep hillsides reach down to the open sea, and the coast makes away toward the south and the west, broken here and there by jutting tree-encrusted promontories. Somewhere amidst those wooded headlands, the British defenses of Hongkong lie hidden. The water of ocean and harbor and bay glistens deep blue in brilliant sunshine. On this razor-back between two expanses of sea and shore of unsurpassed beauty cluster the pretentious homes of Hongkong's wealthy foreign residents. No Chinese is permitted to build upon The Peak.

## ii

During the afternoon and evening of our single day ashore, our host was the Bishop of Hongkong.

R. O. Hall is a name almost to conjure with throughout the Far East. In 1925 when acute tension developed between China and Britain, the shrewd statesmanship of Dr. David Yui, General Secretary of the Chinese Y. M. C. A., cabled a request to the British Student Movement to despatch one of their staff as an informal ambassador of friendship to Chinese students. R. O. Hall came. Through those difficult days, he accomplished much in interpretation and reconciliation

amongst both older and younger Chinese.<sup>1</sup> Some years later the bishopric of Hongkong fell vacant. That Diocese, with equal wisdom and largely in deference to the insistent desire of its Chinese members, recalled him to China. Today he is one of the most respected and beloved younger missionaries in Asia.

He came in to the city to meet us on his "day off," bustling into the Chinese restaurant where we were lunching. Youngish face, close-cropped tawny hair, clad in faded and much-patched khaki shorts, shirt open at the throat, hatless and, hidden beneath a gray tweed coat which was immediately shed, a silver Nestorian cross as the only visible sign of ecclesiastical station—the most engaging episcopal garb we remembered seeing. So intense is the nervous energy, so continuous its activity that one marvels how long the human organism could stand such pressure were it not for a mountain retreat which serves to supplement deep spiritual resources in providing relaxation, and recharging for the dynamo.

He proposed to take us there. We piled into the bishop's Baby Austin, four of us—the bishop, my wife, another guest and I. Soon we picked up the bishop's daughter from school, then a large dog from the veterinary's and finally set off in earnest. Not, however, until we had made quick stops to inspect three lovely new churches, each in varied Chinese architecture of beauty and dignity—suggestions of the vitality and power of religion in the Diocese of Hongkong under its present leadership. Back from the city we pushed up into the hills, rounding bends on two wheels with loud groanings and remonstrances from the diminutive car, and unuttered protestations from its passengers. On our return to Hongkong a month later, one busy Sunday afternoon this

<sup>1</sup>The story is engagingly told in Ronald Rees' invaluable picture of China on the eve of the present conflict, *China Faces the Storm*, p. 57.

same little car transported us out toward the edge of the British territory where a refugee camp was being erected overnight to care for Chinese peasants fleeing before the Japanese advance. In this also Bishop Hall was taking a major hand.

### iii

We had not grasped the identity of the other guest—a slight shy wisp of a man clothed in the most disgracefully seedy and patched oddments of unmatched garments. Only slowly did we realize that he was one whose exploits had but recently been heralded by the press of the world. Doctor Richard F. Brown, a Canadian medical missionary of thirty-eight whose station had fallen into the hands of the Japanese, had gone west before their advance into so-called “Red China.” For five months he had been circling the provinces of Shensi and Shansi, traversing a thousand miles almost altogether on foot. In the last six weeks, he had walked twenty to forty miles each day, treating soldiers whose wounds had gone as long as three years without attention, from daylight to dusk day after day administering medical relief to all sorts and conditions of folk from the foremost leaders of “Communist” China to humblest peasants, soldiers and civilians, Chinese and Japanese, without discrimination.

Later he gave us a glimpse of his journey:

“The whole way was one procession of misery and appalling conditions. Many of the wounded had had no attention at all, and some had been on their dirty beds for months. In one place, many soldiers were absolutely naked, verminous all of them, half-starved and slowly dying of sepsis. Several soldiers had lost limbs and fingers from frostbite which went on to gangrene. In one district alone within a radius of three miles were 1400 wounded and sick—no doctors, no supplies. The whole road was one procession of sick and wounded. It was trying to awake every morning with

the sick and wounded pulling at your bedclothes, but you get used to it."

From his pocket he pulled a well-thumbed document whose contents had been broadcast to the world. It was written on two sides, in Chinese and in English, and signed by Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route ("Red") Army and one of the two most powerful leaders of "Communist" China:

"The Eighth Route Army expresses his thanks and gratitude for the kindness and help rendered to China by foreign missionaries during her war of resistance against Japanese invasion, especially to those doctors and nurses who work under great difficulties and danger. . . . The Eighth Route Army has no prejudice against missionaries. On the contrary, we welcome them and wish to co-operate with them. For our war of resistance is not only for the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation, but also for the maintenance of world peace. In this respect, our goal is just the same."

This frail-looking little doctor whose appearance was so changed by the rigors of his adventures that he had not been recognized on his return was now off for a brief visit with his family, then back with fresh supplies and resources to perhaps the most medically neglected and needy area of the Far East.

*iv*

Our car continued its uncertain climb, steadily upward, with squeaking of springs and rasping of tires. Finally it came out on a little plateau and to an abrupt halt. Words cannot convey the exquisite beauty of the spot, or the charm of the little cottage in Chinese style, or the atmosphere of detached serenity and peace in its surroundings.

The bishop had first been drawn to this place partly by its natural beauty but partly by the near-by location of one

of the most remarkable communities in China—indeed, in all the world. In English, it bears the name, “The Buddhist-Christian Institute,” but the Chinese title “Tao Fongshan,” represents the three words “Truth—Wind (or Spirit)—Hill.” It is the Hill of the Spirit of Truth, or the Hill of the Word of God. In effect, it is a retreat or study-center where Buddhists, especially Buddhist priests, who wish to know more about Christianity may come to live, to study, to reflect. After their period of retreat, they may return to their Buddhist work. Or, if they desire, they may be baptized and even prepared for the Christian ministry. Probably it is the most notable meeting-place of two great religions in the world. Here Buddhism and Christianity are brought into sympathetic relation with each other, and the bridge from the former to the latter may be readily crossed.

We made our way down the hillside toward the Institute and were greeted by its founder. Doctor Reichelt, a Scandinavian Lutheran missionary of some forty years of service among Buddhists, is an elderly rotund little man with bald head, serene countenance and modest but gracious manner. On a promontory high up above green hillsides with magnificent panoramic views down the river-valley and out between steep hills toward the open sea, he has built this extraordinary community. The buildings are all in graceful Chinese style, many of them adaptations of what one might expect at a Buddhist monastery. One dormitory houses preliminary inquirers; another those in definite training. The lecture-hall has sides wide open toward the air—and view. At the center stands the chapel—a circular building with simple altar. Beneath the dome hangs the Star of Bethlehem, and beneath that another star. Here and there is the insignia of the fellowship or Order—an open lotus-lily (Buddhist symbol of unfolding truth) supporting a Cross.

A great bell sent a deep note reverberating across the valley. A score of young Chinese emerged from the various

buildings and glided silently into the chapel—some in black robes, some in white; some with shaven heads after the fashion of Buddhist priests, some not. As they awaited the beginning of the service, they cooled themselves with fans in an atmosphere of quiet, unforced dignity and reverence. Doctor Reichelt and an associate entered. There were hymns and psalms, a brief scripture reading and prayers—much like evening worship in a conventional Christian service. But the absolute stillness in this spot of superlative loveliness, the unconventional yet effective building, the obvious sincerity of the worshippers, the quiet voice of the elderly Norwegian saint combined to create a strangely hallowing impression. We were all deeply moved (though I noticed the bishop's devotion did not divert him from swatting husky mosquitoes which, he later confessed, he feared might be of the anopheles variety!).

As we left the chapel in silence, dusk had deepened into black night with a brilliant near-full moon shining across the valley and illuminating with magic wonder the Hill of the Word of God. A train whistle shrieked from the distance in the valley below, accentuating rather than disturbing the peacefulness of the spot in its aloofness and repose. "The plucky Hongkong-Canton Express, starting her nightly adventure. A bad night for her. This brilliant moonlight makes her a much easier target for aerial attack." What a contrast—the silence and serenity of this hilltop dedicated to the Spirit of Truth and the menace threatening innocent travellers round the bend in the track!



We paused a moment before leaving. They stood, silhouetted in the moonlight, the three figures—the indefatigable yet deeply spiritual administrator of a metropolitan diocese, overpressed by heavy responsibilities much aggravated by the incidence of war; the redoubtable young physician, car-



rying the Christian ministry of health and healing to desperate physical suffering amongst those who decry the Christian faith; and the serene, sagacious saint, for nearly half a century a trusted mediator between two great cultures and faiths. Each, a workman of pre-eminent abilities and devotion in a post of uncommon responsibility and incalculable influence. "Diversities of gifts but the same spirit. Varieties of administration but the same Lord."

## 9.

# *Christianity in Contemporary Japan*

THIS IS NOT AN EASY TIME TO VISIT JAPAN. IT is all the more difficult if one's purpose is an embassy of friendship and consultation with Japanese Christian leaders. Fortunately, our itinerary brought us there before our main visit to China. Had we come straight from six weeks of exposure to the actualities of Japanese rule in Korea, Manchuria and North China, it would have been more difficult to respond to the gracious hospitality of our Japanese friends with wholehearted enthusiasm or to maintain a restrained silence before their sad delusions regarding the policy and program of their Government.

### *ii*

An initial impression of Japan is that the Government makes it as disagreeable as possible for foreigners to enter and travel in their land, and then the Japanese people outdo themselves to make it altogether delightful to remain.

This is more than a surface impression. We lay in Yokohama harbor from early morning until four while the health authorities completed their annoying examinations which no other country finds necessary. When we were lucky in being among a small group of passengers permitted to disembark the same day, we were delighted but not surprised to find

two missionary friends who had journeyed down from Tokyo to meet us. But from their shadows emerged four Oriental figures with smiling countenances and little speeches of formal greeting—representatives of the Union Theological Seminary alumni of Japan who had come at early morning and hung about the dock all the torrid day to bid us welcome to Japan. From that moment, they shepherded us every hour and movement of our stay. Only by studied secrecy did we succeed in eluding their gracious care for a day's excursion to Nikko by ourselves—to discover on our return that one of them had come to the station to accompany us but, to his humiliation, had come to the wrong train.

Surely there is no land on earth where the graces of courtesy, of hospitality, of kindness, are so instinctive and so lovely, where every personal relationship is so habitually infused with beauty and consideration. We shall carry always, as one of the happiest of life's memories, vivid recollections of the unwearied solicitude and unnumbered kindnesses of Japanese friends.

### iii

For all that, Japan is today a tragic nation, tragically misguided and self-deceived, and destined, one fears, for a bitter future.

In all discussion of Japan it must first be recognized that the assumptions and standards which one instinctively employs in appraising other peoples have little appropriateness. One is dealing with a national psychology different from that met elsewhere. In very large part this is due to historic factors of which contemporary Japanese are heirs and for which they bear no responsibility. Of greatest influence is the fact that for over two hundred years Japan was well-nigh completely insulated from the rest of the world. While China and other nations of Asia were engaging in increasing commercial and cultural contacts with each other and with Eu-

rope, the Japanese people were developing in isolation. This has left a formative imprint upon their mentality which I believe to be the most important explanation of present national outlook and policy. The century since world contacts were resumed has brought the most amazing educational and material advance of any nation in the world; it appears to have altered the underlying psychology of the Japanese less than that of any other people. A second factor is the derivative character of Japan's culture. They themselves are at pains to stress their debtorship to China for their art, their literature, much of their religion. The Japanese language is written in Chinese characters. Even while the nation is at war with China, if your Japanese hosts wish to tender you a meal of special delicacy, it will be served in Chinese food. A third and almost equally determinative influence upon present policies flows from tragic post-war history. Japan trusted the lofty promises of the World War victors. She lodged her hopes for a fairer international order in the League of Nations. Then came the manipulation of League actions in the interests of the large Western Powers. Pledges of disarmament crumbled before mammoth rearmament. Door after door slammed in the face of Japanese enterprise. The crowning disillusionment came in the American Oriental Exclusion Act—an egregious insult which rankles in the soul of every intelligent member of a highly sensitive people. Liberalism in Japan was discredited and ousted. By these and other factors, the present national consciousness has been formed.

The moment one moves from the realms of personal relationship into areas where the nation's life and policy are involved, it is a wholly different world. Silence, evasiveness and a baffling semi-mystical, subdued passion possess the consciousness of almost every Japanese, even the finest Christians. In greater or less measure, their thinking (or better, *feeling*) on political and international matters is controlled by a combination of all-pervasive, insidious propaganda and

uncritical patriotic loyalty which appears to be almost the strongest force in their beings. No one can understand Japan who has not felt at firsthand the power of this passionate reverence—the deepest, and noblest, element in the Japanese nature from which flowers much that is finest in their ethics and religion as well as in their history and culture. It is the root of the respect for learning which creates so lovely and touching a relationship between pupil and teacher. It is the secret of the bond between children and parents issuing in family unity of a depth and beauty unknown in the modern West. It breeds deference toward the past and its heroes which safeguards the heritage of the race. It inculcates obedience to authority in any form. And it prepares the Japanese spirit for humble obeisance before the Holy God and eager yearning to know and do His Will.

But it also predisposes the Japanese to uncritical credence toward all official teaching. The fact is the people know almost nothing, literally nothing, of the truth about the war in China—its causes, its initiation, its course, the objectives and methods of their own military in its prosecution. They hear only of the menace of Communism and atheism, of the “villainy” of Chiang Kai-shek, of the unbroken victories of their armies. As one Japanese friend remarked to me with puzzled innocence, “If our forces are as successful as our papers tell us, they should be in inner Tibet by now!” In the press, English as well as Japanese, there is hardly a column, whether it tells of action at the front or of purely domestic happenings in America or Australia without remotest connection with Japan’s concerns, which is not twisted to preach its moral. Japanese propaganda is transparently crude. By the same token, the Japanese people are unbelievably credulous.

Apparent enthusiasm for the war is everywhere evident—in the omnipresence of uniforms, in continuous parades to speed soldiers to the front, in the dignified public reverence toward the ashes of the dead as they come home. However, when one is reminded of the national fondness for uniforms

at all times and learns that the parades are carefully staged and attendance at them prescribed, he accepts the unanimous judgment of foreign residents that there is no popular enthusiasm whatsoever—only troubled bafflement at the war's duration and its severity, and dumb loyalty to national leaders.

One's strongest impression is that the underlying psychology of the Japanese nation is one not of courage or ambition or hatred or cruelty, but of fear. They fear almost everything—Communism pre-eminently, but also China, Russia, the Western Powers, America, especially the American navy. That fear breeds a national policy moderated neither by truth nor by fairness, nor even by shrewd discretion. It is this fear coupled with one other trait of the Japanese character which may work their ultimate undoing—the fact that, more than most other nations, they seem to lack the most elementary capacity to understand the ordinary psychological reactions of other peoples. In consequence, they constantly appear to go out of their way to offend Chinese and all other foreigners, all the while persuading themselves that they are winning others to a "truer understanding" of Japan's altruistic destiny as the expeller of Western influence from the Orient and the savior of all other yellow and brown peoples from white domination. The most devastating rebuttal to Japan's justification of her present policies—and it is definitive—is this fact: though Japan envisions herself as the emancipator of all Oriental peoples, there is not one of those peoples from Siberia to Malaya, however much they may chafe under Western rule or resent white exploitation, which does not contemplate one other fate with infinitely greater dread—the possibility of Japanese domination. It is a sad truth that Japan has no friend among the nations nearer than Rome or Berlin.

There would seem to be only two possible outcomes for Japan—either exhaustion in her campaign in China leading to a radical change in national leadership and policy *or* ultimate involvement in a titanic conflict with one or more of the "Great Powers" issuing in crushing defeat. If the latter

should come, whatever our desires and the efforts of our peace-lovers, it is more than possible that the principal Power arrayed in opposition will be the United States. The most disturbing single fact about Japan, for her no less than for the peace of the world, is that no well-informed observer holds confident hope of the early triumph of a liberal policy.

*iv*

It is against this background that we must view the Christian Movement in Japan. In such a national situation, it faces superlative difficulties.

The missionaries, with certain very few sad and unfortunately prominent exceptions, are fulfilling a difficult rôle magnificently, the rôle of "dignified silence." It is a silence which must cost many of them intense suffering, for every instinct prompts them to declare a Christian judgment upon Japan's actions. To their Japanese friends, their abhorrence of Japanese aggression must be very apparent, though there is no uttered word of condemnation or criticism. They are in Japan as guests of the Japanese nation and friends and counsellors to the Japanese Church. It is not their province to judge national policy but to lend their Japanese colleagues such sympathy and strength as they can.

One wishes he could speak of the Japanese Christian leaders with the same clear enthusiasm. We must recall that they learn no truth about the war save as it reaches them from foreign papers through foreign friends. And that the sentiment of reverent and obedient loyalty which is the noblest attribute of national character moves deeply within their souls and readily allies itself with religious devotion. Moreover, they recall, with their fellow-countrymen, the injustices and indignities which their country has suffered from the Western world.

They, too, are extraordinarily obtuse to the normal feelings of other peoples. A vivid illustration was the uninvited em-

bassy of five distinguished Japanese Christians who crossed to Peiping in the summer of 1938 to counsel with Chinese Christian leaders regarding the evangelization of North China! One evening we sat at dinner in a friend's home with a foremost Christian statesman who had paid a heavy price for his courageous liberalism in the days before this war. His wife remarked that she and her husband were spending much time studying the Chinese language. I inquired why. He replied that his people, though they owed so much of their culture to China, really knew almost nothing of China's history and literature and art. He and his wife wanted command of the Chinese language for this purpose. Then he added, his usually impassive face lighting up with a beautiful smile, "You know this unhappy incident is drawing the Chinese and Japanese peoples so much closer together."

v

Regarding the war, the Japanese Christian leaders for the most part keep a studied silence. Undoubtedly most of them profoundly regret its occurrence and abhor its suffering and toll of life. Undoubtedly a few secretly disapprove their Government's actions, blaming them upon the dominance of the military clique. Undoubtedly within the souls of all, there is grave disquiet and suffering which stirs sincere sympathy. But very, very few of them are able to see the whole matter in anything like its true light. It is especially disheartening to discover younger Christian leaders, trained in American graduate schools which pride themselves on their "debunking realism," falling victims to the most blatant propaganda and absurd mythologies. A brilliant young theological professor with several terms of study abroad confided to me, "Christianity's great problem in Japan today is to unite worship of the Emperor with worship of God." So there is no "Confessional Church" within the Christian Movement in Japan. Even the most clear-headed and fearless leaders argue



there would be no gain from the suffering and martyrdom which forthright protest would bring.

Sadder even than delusion and credulity is the mask of silence cast over Christian candor. Almost no Japanese Christians speak with complete frankness to foreign friends, even intimate associates of many years. It is said that they dare not speak frankly to one another.

It would be a very inadequate conception of the Christian Movement in Japan, however, which pictured it solely against the background of the present tragic political situation. Our impressions were inevitably colored by these immediate issues. By themselves they would convey a quite onesided picture. While the Far Eastern conflict necessarily looms large in the thought of any visitor and weighs heavily upon the consciousness of all sensitive Japanese Christians, the regular enterprises of the Christian Church in Japan are pressing forward with intensified earnestness and energy. Whatever the leaders may feel about national policy, they are resolved that they shall not be found wanting in the main responsibilities of education, evangelism and social service in which all are united. It is the distinction of this Younger Church to have advanced farther toward complete self-direction and self-support than any other. Magnificent Christian institutions of learning dot the land. Accessions to the Church are mounting during this time of widespread seriousness and seeking. The quality of personal Christian consecration and devotion widely prevalent in Japan is hardly surpassed elsewhere in the world. Upon these superb achievements, the stranger who finds himself puzzled at one point—the Christians' attitude toward national policy—will build his hope for the future. He will remind himself ever afresh that no outsider can ever rightly comprehend or judge Japanese mentality. On the one baffling issue, perhaps the most heartening word is that most of the foreign missionaries who have lived amongst the Japanese people through the years and have

made a beginning at understanding them show no slackening of faith in their Japanese colleagues. Others may well have faith in their faith in the Christian leadership of Japan.

Moreover, the unshakable loyalty of Japanese Christians, even those of most warped perspective, to Christ is beyond question. It is profoundly impressive. He has taken a hold upon them which is hardly short of miraculous. As one puzzles over the issues for the future of Christianity in Japan, one comes to feel that it is he, and he almost unaided, who must fight the battle within their souls against all that would lure them from truth and the Kingdom. For before them there lie not only severe problems in relation to Government and nation, but many trials and dangers within the life of their Church.

*vi*

One feature of Christianity in Japan is not disappointing, at least at first meeting—Kagawa and his work. While the nation is preoccupied with the illusions and mock heroics of a ruthless and unprovoked aggression, this indefatigable human dynamo prosecutes his dozen varied enterprises of practical Christian service—hospitals, farms, schools, settlements, co-operatives, pawnshops, kitchens, churches.

Abroad, Kagawa is criticized for not speaking the Christian witness against this war. To many even beyond the range of the Church his silence brings grave disappointment. The issue was raised very sharply between Kagawa and Gandhi on the occasion of a conversation shortly after the Madras Conference.<sup>1</sup> As to the rightness of Kagawa's action, or rather absence of action, in this matter, there is unquestionably room for difference of opinion. One does not meet criticism of him on this score in Japan. He appears to conceive his task to be the building of a fairer Japan, rather than disavowal of the present misguided national adventure.

<sup>1</sup>The interview was reported in Gandhi's paper, *Harijan*, for Jan. 21, 1939.

10.

## *Pray for Korea*

IF THERE IS ONE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WHO deserve the sympathy and active solicitude of all men and women of good will, it is the people of Korea.

*ii*

Korea is a lovable, pitiable, tragic nation. The Koreans are today a persecuted people. For more than three hundred years intermittently and for fifty years uninterruptedly, Korea has been the football of the Far East, buffeted back and forth between the three surrounding empires of Russia, Japan and China. The past twenty-eight years of direct Japanese rule have failed almost completely to win from these simple-hearted peasant folk the kind of loyalty and co-operation which is demanded. Now, repression has been intensively renewed. To Japan it appears justified by the unwillingness of the Koreans to accept and welcome their status within the Japanese Empire, by earlier abortive aspirations toward independence, and by the vulnerable position of the Korean peninsula as a route of possible attack by Russia. Undoubtedly it is aggravated by the present war psychology. That psychology is both neurotic and fanatic. On the one hand it is obsessed with ill-grounded fears, imagining sedition among a poor and peace-loving people who long since have been crushed into cowed submission. On the other hand it poses as self-designated liberator of Asia, resenting any failure of the beneficiaries to acclaim Japan's unwelcome ministrations.

The present Japanese policy has two principal objectives. First, it insists that every Korean organization shall surrender its identity and merge into the corresponding Japanese national body. On the face of it, this is a not unreasonable demand since in theory Korea has been an integral part of the Japanese Empire for more than a quarter of a century. Second, it intends to extirpate by any necessary means every vestige of "disloyal" (*i.e.*, independent or progressive, not merely nationalistic) ideas among individual Koreans. The method employed is "examination of thoughts." Every vigorous young leader in Korea, man or woman, is apprehended, subjected to protracted third degree examination and intimidation, and frequently imprisoned with the application of torture of a cruelty which almost exceeds credence as it certainly surpasses description. Their offence is not that they are insurrectionists or radicals for they are neither, but that they are young, that they are men and women of liberal spirit, that they do not hail Japan as their country's savior, and that their contacts with Western education, whether in Europe or America or in Korea, may have infected their minds with thoughts not completely satisfactory to their Japanese masters. This is a grave indictment of Japanese practice. It cannot possibly reveal the gravity of the facts. If one would learn the meaning of Japanese rule, he should go not to occupied China where the abnormal provocations of war prevail, but to Manchuria now in its eighth year of Japanese administration or to Korea where twenty-eight years of unbroken Japanese control disclose their inescapable lesson.

*iii*

Where lies the hope for that little land of 20,000,000 people, eighty-five per cent of them agriculturists, poverty on every hand, the peasants increasingly reduced to economic serfdom, the whole population cowed into dumb subservience?

On the outskirts of the capital city of Seoul (or, as the Japa-

nese prefer to call it, Keijo), one climbs a steep hill to come out upon a plateau looking out across open country to find oneself in the midst of a lovely college campus which carries imagination at once to Wellesley or Mount Holyoke or Bryn Mawr. Here three hundred young Korean women in charming costumes of black skirt and white bodice, hair slicked tightly back from their foreheads, eyes sparkling with gay interest and curiosity, are at study. Half of them will become the schoolteachers of the nation. The other half will probably become the wives of its political, cultural and religious leaders, home-makers for the leadership of tomorrow. At the head of the college stands a stalwart, forthright Korean woman who first experienced the realities of Japanese overlordship in solitary confinement when she was a student in this same college nearly twenty years ago, who subsequently graduated and went on to America for post-graduate study, taking her Ph.D. at Teachers College in New York—the first woman Ph.D. of her people. At her right hand is a wise and courageous Wellesley alumna who held the helm of that little institution through the harassing and perplexing years of the recent past. The only institution of higher education for women in a nation of 20,000,000! If I could lend support to only one Christian enterprise abroad, I should be strongly tempted to select the Ehwa College for Women in Seoul.

Across the valley on the next hill stands the Chosen Christian College, a parallel institution for men. In the city is located the Severance Hospital and Medical College which, for close to half a century, have brought the best of modern medicine to the nation's capital and have sent far and wide through its populace doctors and nurses trained for its healing and guided by ideals of service. Upon another hill within the city stands the little theological seminary which, with meager equipment and pitiful resources, gives able and inspired instruction to some sixty men and women and which may have to train the entire leadership for the Christian

Church in Korea. Spread widely through the length and breadth of that little land, a Christian Movement which, until this war, was one of the fastest-growing Christian Churches in the world—self-governing, self-propagating, nearly self-supporting—labors amidst a predominantly rural populace bound in desperate poverty.

*iv*

It should be clearly understood that the present repressive measures are not directed immediately against the Christian Church. In a brief interview, the Japanese Governor General went out of his way to assure us that his Government is not opposed to Christianity and that it welcomes missionary institutions. These measures affect the Christian Movement principally at three points:

1. Students in Christian schools, as in all others, are required to make public obeisance at the Shinto national shrines and pledge daily their loyalty to Japan. The Japanese Government has repeatedly insisted that the required obeisance is a purely patriotic observance without necessary religious significance, and therefore should meet no objection from Christians on religious grounds. In Japan itself, this official interpretation of Shinto observance is almost universally accepted by Christians and the required ceremonies are performed. In Korea, Christian leadership is divided on the issue. Certain groups (notably the Methodists) follow the policy of fellow-Christians in Japan, accept the Government's reiterated declarations and comply with the regulations. Other groups (*e.g.*, a majority of the American Presbyterian missionaries) hold firmly to the contention that, since Shinto serves both as patriotism and as religion and the same shrines are employed for both purposes, obeisance at these shrines must be pagan religious worship. Under no circumstances will they comply. If necessary, they will close their schools and colleges. On the other hand, the Korean Presbyterian

Church at the insistence of the police has felt compelled to acquiesce and to sanction shrine observance by official action of its General Assembly. Thus a wedge has been driven between the overt policies of the missionaries and their Korean colleagues, and an unhappy appearance of rift has resulted.

2. The various Korean national Christian bodies are under irresistible pressure from the police to give up independent existence and apply for inclusion within the corresponding Japanese organizations. The surface reasonableness of this requirement to Japanese eyes has already been suggested. Here, likewise, there is division of policy among the Christian organizations. Some (e.g., the Korean branch of the World's Sunday School Association, the National Christian Council) have disbanded rather than comply. Others (the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A.) have sought absorption within the corresponding Japanese Associations.

In these two issues, it is obvious that political and religious considerations are confusedly intertwined. Undoubtedly, the resentment of Korean Christians toward the regulations springs in part from profound patriotic loyalties; Christian principles of life and death importance are not so clearly involved. But misgiving springs also from the conviction, confirmed by the obdurate realities of a quarter-century's experience, that intimate Japanese supervision of any activity, even if it be mediated through Japanese Christian organizations, threatens doom not only for anything Korean but for anything vigorously and sincerely Christian. No dispassionate observer can fail to share this misgiving. Officially, the Japanese administration welcomes Christian institutions. These institutions are in no slightest way subversive. But can education or worship which are truly and fearlessly Christian continue permanently within the policy and program of the present leadership of Japan?

3. It is the third phase of the Japanese program which is the most heart-rending and, in its ultimate significance, the

most ominous—the cruel and unjustified persecution of the finest young Christian Koreans. As already indicated, they are suspect not because they are Christian but because they are among the young and progressive leaders whose “thoughts” may have been contaminated through too much contact with the West. So their minds are systematically scrutinized to assure a thorough purging.

It was not possible for us to see two of the ablest Christian leaders of Korea, one of the older and the other of the younger generation. It would not have been wise for the elder to come to see us; it would not have been fair for us to go to see him. The younger, a man of sterling character and integrity, was in prison and had been for months, for no fault other than that he is a man of ability and forward outlook. However, we did see a Christian pastor just released, his disfigured and bloated face bearing mute witness to the character of his detention. And we met many of the young Christians who had suffered similarly, though not one of them uttered a syllable of their experiences and we would not ask a single question. It is some measure of the influence of the Christian Movement within Korea's life that so many of the younger leaders of her people are Christians, educated and inspired for national service in Christian institutions. Here is also some indication of the desperate circumstances of that valiant Christian leadership today.

We fell completely captive to them—these youthful Korean Christians. Charming, gracious men and women of quiet simplicity and transparent spirituality—brave, uncomplaining, patient, silent on what they have endured, unassuming, indomitably faithful. Without invidious contrast with citizens of other nations who have endured trials for conscience's sake, one must bear witness that nowhere else has he ever seen Christian spirit of such quintessential beauty. If the Christians in Korea as a national church are the most severely tried in all the world today, by their trials the last vestiges of dross



are being smelted from their souls and the reality of spirit shines forth in utter purity and glory. If one would discover what Christian life really means—and be convinced that it is of the fabric of eternity, indestructible, by which alone the world may be saved—go to Korea today!

*v*

Where is Korea's greatest help in a bitter present? her greatest hope for a better tomorrow? Can there be any doubt that it lies in the manifold ministry of the Christian Church in that land, and in a Christian leadership for the nation's future?

# 11.

## America's Distinctive Contribution

*"I will that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with plaited hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence" (1 Timothy 2:9-12).*

TO PROPONENTS OF THE VERBAL INERRANCY of Scripture, this must be a peculiarly embarrassing passage. One recalls a great leader of the American Church, never known for levity in religion, who was advocating a larger place for women in the affairs of the Church and was confronted with this text by a militant, feminine Fundamentalist. He replied, "But, Mrs. So-and-so, you will recall that Saint Paul also directs that when Christians meet together, they should salute one another with a holy kiss. Are you proposing that we practise that injunction also?"

Not a few distinguished visitors from abroad have given it as their judgment that America's most original and estimable contribution to human culture is the American woman's college. That contribution American women, through Christian missions, have taken to the ends of the earth. All over the world one discovers them, in Japan and Korea and China, in India and the Near East, doubtless in Africa and Latin

America—the American woman's college transplanted thither by American alumnæ, introduced into foreign soil, there become firmly rooted and indigenous, and now growing healthily as a native plant. One thinks of a woman's university on the outskirts of Tokyo with its striking new buildings in modernistic Japanese style. And another high up on a hillside overlooking Kobe in collegiate Gothic which would persuade one that he had been transported to Bryn Mawr or Wellesley were it not for the gay and delicate kimonos flitting here and there across the quadrangles—one of the most exquisite college campuses in the world. And a smaller school—yet also with a commanding setting and fine buildings and admirable equipment—just outside the capital-city of Korea. Or several colleges in India—a land whose traditional outlook has frowned upon the lifting of women from the rôle of mere home-maker and child-bearer. Certainly there could be no finer or more valuable gift to a non-Christian people. It is a gift which proceeds inevitably from the heart of Christian faith.

*ii*

The first impression made upon the visitor is the beauty of these women's colleges—beauty of structure and appointments, grace of life and thought. In these respects, they often furnish striking contrast to neighboring men's institutions. Women's first gift is often beauty. A particularly important contribution it is when one recalls its widespread neglect in the Protestant tradition, and the far greater sensitiveness to beauty among many non-Christian peoples and in some expressions of non-Christian religions, even the most primitive. These colleges are a reminder that the Christian God is rightly worshipped only in the beauty of holiness.

*iii*

More intimate acquaintance reveals them as seed-plots of the most courageous and radical (in the literal and noble

meaning of that term) thinking. This is especially striking in Japan. Almost the only Japanese Christians who seem to be facing the ghastly realities of their nation's policies with candor unafraid yet without bitterness or loss of deep national loyalty are certain women Christian leaders.

Strolling across the lovely campus of one of the Japanese women's colleges, its president was bemoaning the difficulty of persuading her students to take history and economics and the humanities; parents and prospective husbands wish them trained exclusively in home economics and music. A little later I spoke to a group of the faculty. In the question period, a Japanese member with the marks of learning and of courage on her face, put this astounding question: "Is it true that Christians in America are raising \$10,000,000 to be handed personally to Chiang Kai-shek in return for which special privileges are to be granted Christian missionaries and, after the war, China is to become a Christian nation?" I had been asked the same question before, for this statement had appeared in several Japanese papers. I answered that it had been some months since I had left the United States, but that I was willing to stake my honor that the report was not true. Later, the president inquired if I understood why the question had been put. "It was to elicit your reply. She is almost the only member of our staff who insists on facing the facts." This was her indirect strategy to try to force her colleagues to face the facts also.

*iv*

Not merely fearless thought is bred by women's leadership. There is also redoubtable courage of action. It is inculcated by the one sure method—contagion. We were in Hongkong just after the Japanese had landed at Bias Bay in their advance on Canton. The single daily train which risked the journey from Canton to Hongkong was bombed almost nightly. The slower trip by river-steamer was still open and

entirely safe. My wife chanced to meet a prim little woman missionary of an elder generation and an older school, bustling into a Hongkong bank; she had journeyed down from Canton the previous day. "I suppose you came down by river," my wife remarked. "Oh, no. By train. It's much faster." "But aren't you afraid the line may be bombed?" "They repair it very quickly," replied the little old lady as she hurried off. The American Ambassador to China reports that he ordered American women missionaries in an endangered area to evacuate their posts. He adds with proud chagrin, "Not one of them obeyed my orders."



The most important function of the American woman's college overseas, however, is of course to prepare the feminine leadership of the nations. I have already cited the Ehwa College at Seoul with its three hundred charming young Korean students, the solitary agency of higher education for women amongst 20,000,000 people. In Japan it is only in the Christian colleges that women may gain the liberal education which is so essential if that land is to be guided to national policies, humane and co-operative. In India and in the Near East where Hinduism and Islam have laid their tethering restrictions upon womanhood, nothing furnishes more striking and refreshing contrast to the prevailing culture than life and thought within Christian schools, where young women drink deep of the learning and the disciplined freedom of modern education. Amongst primitive peoples just emerging from the superstitions and binding mores of communal life, of what incalculable significance it is that women should advance side-by-side with men in that parity of life and work and thought which is one of the noblest ideals of Christian civilization. So, whether it be in the provision of higher education for women where no other is available, or in the progressive leadership of women's

education where government institutions are now following the lead of missions, Christian colleges have pioneered and are continuing to pioneer enlightenment, opportunity, responsibility for their sex throughout the world.

The proof of the contribution of Christian education for women is in its tangible fruit—in the leaders who have been sent forth into national life and service. A dozen illustrations come to mind. I mentioned above the present head of the woman's college in Seoul—the valiant Korean girl who was inducted into the realities of service to her people when she suffered solitary confinement in undergraduate years, the first woman Ph.D. in her nation.

Far out toward the western borders of China close to Tibet, a plane deposited us on the flying-field at Chengtu. In the rickety bus which bumped us over rutted roads into the city, one could not fail to note one of the passengers. A Chinese woman, she made all the more distinguished impression because so completely unassuming. Rimmed spectacles, cultivated speech and perfect command of English immediately marked the scholar. A vigorous and experienced manner also suggested an administrator. And a union of gentleness, sensitiveness and quiet strength in clear eyes and firm mouth unmistakably revealed a character of more than usual quality. Only later did we learn that she is indeed a scientist of distinction, a foremost educator, and a prominent leader in national affairs, member of the Chinese National Assembly—the president of Ginling College. We visited the improvised refugee quarters of the college. There she, her staff, and their students, driven a thousand miles inland from their campus at Nanking by Japanese occupation, are carrying forward the work of preparing China's womanhood for leadership tomorrow.

Two months later, we were to meet Doctor Wu Yi Fang again—this time also on a Christian college campus, but now at Madras in southern India. Thither she had come

with seventy of her countrymen to the world missionary conference of some 500 delegates. She came to serve as chairman of a Section on "The Church and Education" containing distinguished educators from every corner of the world. She came also as president of the National Christian Council of China and leader of what was universally recognized as the strongest delegation sent by any one of the seventy nations represented. It was, as far as I know, the first occasion history records when the headship of a national delegation at a world convention has been entrusted to a woman. How striking that this step should be taken not by a country of the West where woman's struggle for opportunity dates from the Greeks, but by an Oriental people whose emancipation of womanhood can be dated by decades. How inevitable that it should occur at a *Christian* conference. How appropriate that the distinction should fall to the Christian woman educated in Christian colleges in her native land and abroad, and at present the head of a college for women founded by American women, but now led and largely supported by the Christian womanhood of China. It need only be added that the recipient of the honor was in every respect fully qualified for her exacting responsibilities.

vi

The question is often asked, "What is the unique contribution of Christianity to civilization?" There is no single answer. One of its distinctive gifts is the emancipation of womanhood, the provision of opportunity for their leadership, the resultant gifts by them to the life of mankind.

If one were challenged to justify the worth of Christian missions, there could be no single or simple reply which would be adequate. But there is one tangible contribution of missions which, partial as it is, would alone seem to vindicate their worth. It is—higher education for women.

12.

## *China's Leadership— Today and Tomorrow*

"BUT HAS THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT ANY significance for the life of an entire nation?"

For partial answer, we might refer again to the actual contribution of Christianity to the Fiji Islands or to Korea. Rather let us turn to the most populous and in many ways the most complex and baffling nation in the world. Consider China with her 450,000,000 people, her chronic poverty, famine, disease, her stupendous social problems.

### *ii*

Christians in China number barely one in every hundred of the population. But, in the *Who's Who?* of China, one in six is a Christian. Of those listed in *Who's Who?* one half have received their education in the Christian schools and colleges of China.

When one fastens attention upon that much smaller company, a mere handful, of those who stand at the heart of China's leadership today and upon whom largely rests responsibility for the future of that harassed and needy land, the evidence is far more striking. What nation is there on the face of the earth in whose Government the Head, whether he be President or Prince, the Commander-in-Chief,



the Prime Minister and Finance Minister, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and two of the three ranking members of the diplomatic corps are devout Christians? Doubtless, some of the Christians in high office in China, like national leaders in so-called "Christian" countries, are merely church members or nominal Christians. Many of them are earnest, reverent men and women who discover time in this hour of national emergency to take at least a brief period each day for Bible reading, meditation and prayer, who seek divine wisdom and help in their overwhelming tasks, and who, in the face of each major decision of national policy, put to themselves the question, "What does the Christian ethic direct here?" Of the dozen foremost officials in war-torn China, a full half are loyal Christians. No wonder it is said that China's Government has today the most Christian leadership of any in the world. What other nation could possibly be compared with her in this regard?<sup>1</sup>

This remarkable body of Christian leaders in contemporary China stems from Doctor Sun Yat-sen himself, the father of the Revolution of 1911 and the revered Founder of Modern China; he came to personal Christian allegiance through the influence of a British missionary. (Doctor Sun's son, Doctor Sun Fo, is the present president of the Legislative Yuan, the Congress of the Chinese Government.) The group embraces the recent ambassador to Washington, Doctor C. T. Wang, formerly General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of China; and Doctor W. W. Yen who served the Peiping Government as Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and more recently has been Ambassador to Russia; as well as the present Minister of Foreign Affairs in the National Government, Mr. Wang Chung-hui. It includes a number

<sup>1</sup>The details of the facts here summarized with brief biographical comments are given in Ronald Rees' *China Faces the Storm*, Ch. II. The above paragraph and those immediately following are largely based upon this admirable and trustworthy little book.

of the most influential members of the national legislature and the larger national assembly; and the much-publicized "Christian General," General Feng Yu-hsiang; and some of the strongest and most trusted leaders in provincial administration. It has especially striking illustration, of course, in the now famous Soong family and their connections—T. V. Soong, the ablest financier in China, formerly Prime Minister and Finance Minister; his brother-in-law, Doctor H. H. Kung, founder of the Oberlin-Shansi Memorial School and of the National Child Welfare Association, chairman of the board of Cheeloo University, recent Prime Minister and Finance Minister of the National Government; Doctor Kung's wife, eldest of the three Soong sisters; Madame Sun Yat-sen, the second sister, widow of the great hero and herself a powerful force in national life today; the youngest of the three sisters, Madame Chiang Kai-shek; and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek himself. Many other names would have to be added if the rôle were to be made complete.

Much is now being made of the place which simple but profound Christian faith holds in the life of China's Commander-in-Chief. Doubtless, the Generalissimo and his wife would deprecate the direction of too great attention to this pivotal aspect of their personal lives. The Generalissimo was a military man, schooled in the outlook and ethics of his profession, won in middle life to earnest Christian devotion. He would profess himself only a beginner in the Christian life. Nevertheless, it is perhaps not inappropriate to give two intimate glimpses, recently received from sources of unimpeachable trustworthiness. The first comes from perhaps the foremost missionary leader in China, a close personal friend of General Chiang Kai-shek for many years:

"More than ever do I admire his courage, clear-thinking, and utterly unselfish devotion. China is indeed fortunate to have such a leader in this supreme crisis. He is one of the best instances I have known in my personal acquaintance

of the 'conversion' of one's whole way of life—the sense of values, the controlling aims or motives, the rigidly maintained standards—from the acceptance of Christian faith. It is singularly unobtrusive, and he rarely speaks of it except to those who share it. Several times each day he stops his busy succession of appointments to go quietly aside for prayer, and this is no formal exercise but an obvious source of power."

A Canadian visiting Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek on official business and invited by them to join their evening devotions thus describes the General's prayer:

"I never expect to hear such a prayer again in all my life. The General began with a simple expression of thanks for their personal safety. Then he added thanks for the courage of the nation under fire. Then he prayed for strength for the men in the field and along the firing lines; he prayed for strength for himself, and added a most earnest plea for guidance and wisdom, that he should not fail the people.

"But the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him, and help China, not to hate the Japanese people. He prayed for the Japanese Christians and all the suffering multitudes of Japan whose impoverishment was making the war on China possible.

"In the simplest and humblest terms he laid himself at the service of the Almighty God, and begged that he might know the Divine will and do it on the morrow."

### iii

However, the influence of the Christian Church upon the leadership of China is in no sense confined to those in official positions. Note the movements for social amelioration and reconstruction among that desperately needy people. The National Child Welfare Association; the Anti-opium Association; the Famine Relief Committee; the National Association for the Advancement of Mass Education, seeking to eliminate illiteracy by simplified teaching of the

general populace; the New Life Movement, seeking to inculcate simplicity, health, honesty, loyalty of life throughout the whole nation; the movements for justice to labor, for housing reform, for emancipation of women, for better working conditions, for the relief of lepers and other social outcasts; the government-sponsored movement for rural reconstruction—every one of them founded and largely led by Chinese Christians. In these multiform crusades for social reform rests much of the promise of a better future for China's millions.

*iv*

Moreover, the influence of the Christian Movement does not stop with those who call themselves Christians. It is working its alchemy out into the national life most widely through men and women who have come under the sway of Christian ideals in Christian schools and colleges. All over China one comes upon them and in every phase of national service—in government office, in public education, in social philanthropy, in labor reform, in rural reconstruction. A half dozen whom we chanced to meet come quickly to mind—a vice-minister of foreign affairs, the president of a great government university, the dean of another, the head of one of the most vigorous war relief agencies, a leader in rural reconstruction—all trained in Christian schools, some in the strongest Christian universities like Yenching or St. John's but others in less well-equipped and less well-known Christian institutions. There they were inspired with an ideal for their people and a conception of public service for themselves and are now giving of their full powers to bring that ideal to realization within the life of the nation.

One day in October, 1938, we stood on the flying field in Chungking, the present capital of China, waiting for the plane which was to carry us on to Chengtu. The missionary who was our host was greeted warmly by an elderly and

distinguished-looking Chinese gentleman who was also awaiting the plane. We were introduced, "This is General Fu." Then, since the General did not understand English, it was possible for our host to tell us something of him as we stood there. "General Fu is one of the most respected and beloved Elder Statesmen of China. At the time of the Sun Yat-sen revolution in 1911, he became the first governor of this Province. In a day when Chinese politics were notorious for graft, no one ever raised question of the honesty of General Fu. In the years since, he has been in the forefront of every important move for China's advance. He has initiated the founding of educational institutions. He has supported private philanthropy. He has sponsored rural reconstruction. Today, too elderly to hold an official position, he is a trusted adviser to the Government and a revered leader of the common people."

At this point, General Fu interrupted. He had no intention of wasting this opportunity to converse with visitors from abroad. Speaking through the missionary as interpreter, he began to tell us why he was convinced that China could not finally be defeated in her present struggle for national existence. After he had amassed a number of impressive arguments he finally came, almost in a peroration, to his climactic argument. "China," he said quite simply, "cannot finally be defeated because no nation and no group of nations can permanently base their policy on principles contrary to the Sermon on the Mount." I am afraid I glanced at the old gentleman a little suspiciously, wondering whether perhaps this had been said to impress foreign visitors who were known to be Christians. At once I was heartily ashamed of myself for harboring the suspicion; the utter integrity of the man shone on his face. "But," I said, "General Fu isn't a Christian, is he?" "I don't know," replied the missionary (an interesting sidelight on the warm personal relationships between missionaries and national

leaders without any element of Christian proselytism which one discovers all over the world!), "I don't think so. But I'll ask him." He did. And the answer came back. "No. He's not a Christian. That is, he's not a church member. But in his boyhood, fifty years and more ago, he went to the little Methodist mission school in what was then almost the frontier city of Chungking. There he learned to read the New Testament. He's been reading it ever since. And he considers himself a follower of Jesus Christ."



Perhaps more than any other influence, Christianity is responsible for the indomitable resolution of China's present struggle for freedom. But even more, for the *character* of that resistance—a resistance which declines to yield to the temptation to hatred or passion for revenge, which refuses to retaliate the wanton destruction of civilian life and property, which seeks only an international order of justice and peace in which China may take an appropriate part.

It has frequently been queried why China does not reciprocate the continuous and ruthless bombing of her women and children by bombing Japanese cities. The usual reply is that China lacks planes for the task and that they could not reach the Japanese cities. This is quite false. More than once Chinese planes have flown over Japanese cities and have dropped—handbills stating that there is no ground for enmity between the two peoples and that all China desires is a community of nations in which she can take her rightful place. Chinese planes have not dropped bombs because, until very recent months, the head of the Chinese air-force has been a Christian woman educated at Wellesley College. Against every pressure from military and politicians, Madame Chiang Kai-chek has resolutely refused to sanction retaliation.

## vi

Behind these influences stand the Christian institutions from which they have issued. Behind them again, the corps of unassuming men and women from foreign lands who have guided the institutions over a century of quiet and undiscouraged effort until Chinese leadership was competent to take them in charge, and who continue today at the side of the Chinese Christian leaders as their most trusted advisers and friends. For an estimate of the worth of their devotion and its significance for China's welfare, we may refer to a peculiarly competent and unbiased observer, himself not an adherent of their faith. For twenty years, Mr. George E. Sokolsky was a foremost correspondent of British, Japanese and American newspapers in China. Few foreigners know the country and its problems more intimately or speak with weightier authority. He has recently written:

"The most significant job done by Americans in China is neither the buying nor the selling of goods. It is so great a work that it is altogether misunderstood by small minds and even smaller hearts. That is the tremendously important and valuable services of the American missionary.

"These men and women have gone to town and village, bringing with them not only the many varieties of Christianity, but a new cultural pattern; in my opinion, a nobler cultural pattern than the Chinese retained amid the disintegration of China's indigenous social and intellectual establishments during the last century.

"Take, as an example, St. John's University in Shanghai, or the Shanghai College (which used to be the Shanghai Baptist College) or Lingnan University (which used to be called the Canton Christian College), or Yenching in Peking, or Soochow University, or Yale-in-China; these and many more have kept the light of modern learning aflame in China during the dark days of civil war and revolution and change of government.

"And these missionaries brought medicine and hospital and nursing and child welfare to China. They brought a new conception of social relationships—not man-for-his-family, but man-for-society—a broadening of viewpoint.

"They planted the seeds of a social revolution, which, if it did not quickly make China strong, at any rate produced in China a forward-looking, progressive, non-opium smoking monogamous leadership.

"It is impossible to over-emphasize the great value to China of the American missionary, of the American school and hospital situated in that country. And it is something to note in these days of collectivist materialism that there has been no return to the United States for this service. It has cost us more, over a century, than we ever earned out of our trade with China. It was the contribution of a well-off people to those who needed our help and assistance."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Sokolsky wrote of observations before the quality of missionary devotion was put to its severest test in the temptations and tragedies of the present conflict. Under that testing it stands forth with far greater significance and glory. It is doubtful if the history of man's service for his fellows records a more notable chapter than the humanitarian and spiritual assistance rendered by Christian missionaries to all—Christians and non-Christians, Chinese and Japanese, old and young—amidst the indescribable brutality and suffering of Japanese occupation and Chinese migration. That story has not yet been written. It cannot be written for many years to come.

It is no accident that the major burden of directing relief to China's destitute and exiled millions has fallen squarely on the missionaries. The Christian Church is the only agency spread throughout the country whose local centers in almost every town were at hand and ready to render succor, to

<sup>2</sup>George E. Sokolsky in the *New York Herald Tribune*.



provide safety, to administer support. When Chinese leaders and almost all other foreigners evacuated in front of the advancing invaders, the missionaries remained. They alone knew the people and their needs. They alone were able to serve as trustworthy intermediaries between a conquering army and a subjugated populace. They alone were equipped to direct relief. Similar effort in China's repeated exposures to floods, plagues and civil strife had prepared them with experience. Rigorous economy necessitated by their own meager financial resources had taught them how to ring from every penny its maximum value for human need.

The services of the missionaries are by no means confined to immediate relief, however. In many and many a city, town and village, the missionary's home is the only haven of safety for the lives of men and the honor of women— islands of order and decency in the enveloping lawlessness and barbarity. Here, by day and by night, the missionary stands ever ready to rescue the endangered, to plead for humane conduct, to mediate conflicts, to minister to suffering, terror and death. For the most part, these emergency rôles of taxing difficulty are being discharged with indomitable courage, scrupulous fairness, and wellnigh superhuman wisdom, tact and serenity.

Recently, testimony to the profundity of missionary influence has been forthcoming from an unexpected source—from Japanese military leaders. An American friend who has lived through the past two years in one of the tensest areas of Japanese occupation writes me as follows:

"A Japanese Christian has recently remarked that the Japanese Army has for the first time, through the campaign in China, discovered the Christian missionary. This remark was not intended to imply any disparagement of missionary work in Japan. It meant simply that wherever the Army has gone in China it has found the Christian missionary.

It has found him standing by his job, in a difficult time, for no reason certainly of material profit to himself. It has seen him conducting refugee camps, caring for the sick and the wounded, and rendering all sorts of service to the people generally. The extent and variety of this enterprise have come, we are told, as a revelation to the Army, and the Army has thus learned, with a shock of real surprise, the breadth and depth of the missionaries' influence. The Army has, however, of course been quick to see that this unselfish service redounds necessarily and inevitably to the credit of the country that renders it, and therefore has desired to secure the backing of Japanese religious groups for its own program in China, hoping thereby to gain for Japan what it feels that other countries have won for themselves in this way.

"Without going here into the questions, and they are many, raised by this desire to exploit religion for national purposes, one corollary that arises from the above may be pointed out. If the Japanese Army wonders at the extent of missionary influence in China, and pays it the ready tribute of a desire to emulate it, it can be taken for granted also that the Army does not merely marvel at this influence, it also fears it. Indeed the writer knows of one striking statement and that from a Japanese source, to the effect that the Army fears this influence more than any other one thing, that it fears in fact that this influence may be so strong as to block its program in Asia.

"Think of it! The Japanese Army afraid of the missionaries! Of course, afraid not in any physical sense yet none the less really. Hesitantly and uneasily the Army confronts the missionaries. It does not know quite what to make of them or do with them. The weapons of spiritual warfare which the missionary uses are so strangely unlike those the Army uses, and yet equally powerful if not more so. Once again the battle seems not to the strong, and the meek somehow to inherit the earth. For the heart of China, which is the only thing worth striving for, is with the missionaries and not with the Army!"

*vii*

The impression would be quite false that all Chinese Christians are serving their country as sacrificially and notably as those mentioned above, or that only Christians or men and women with Christian education are in the forefront of national leadership. Some of the staunchest patriots recognize no debtorship to Christian influences. Many Christians manifest a nominal discipleship or have even proven unworthy of their Christian allegiance. Nevertheless, it is hardly too much to say that the greatest single hope for China's future lies in that tiny band of devoted Christians at the core of her Government, in the wider circle scattered through every phase of national leadership, and in the influences disseminating through the fabric of national life from Christian schools and colleges, Christian hospitals and churches.

## 13.

# *The Christian Movement in India*

TO THE STRANGER ON HIS FIRST VISIT, INDIA IS in many ways both a baffling and a depressing land. It is not merely that poverty, squalor, physical malformation and malnutrition exceed these ills elsewhere. Rather, the sheer immensity of India and the complexity of its problems—political, cultural, economic, religious—in their intricate interrelationship seem too great for human management. Moreover, the Indian nature, superlative as are its gifts in other directions, strikes one as ill-suited for these gigantic tasks.

Just now the fever of nationalism and of confidence in its early realization burns high. Foreign institutions are suspect, their undeniable contributions to India's welfare are undervalued. Coolness toward foreign influences intends to direct itself toward the British. Inevitably it tends to embrace Americans also, often very unjustly. The whole situation makes dispassionate consideration and effective cooperation difficult. In India, as in no other country we visited, we found some, though a minority, of those who have given long years in civil or missionary service wondering in their hearts whether their lives' devotion might have been wasted. The casual visitor is tempted to a mood of hopelessness about India's future.

It should be said at once that the attitude of the Indian leaders themselves is the exact reverse of hopelessness. Sensing the advent of greater self-government, they scan the future with high expectation. Understanding their own temperaments as no Westerner fully can, they hold strong confidence in the powers of the peoples of India to guide their own destiny and to work through to fair and sound solutions the difficulties which have confounded the ablest administrators of modern times. Nor are these hopes to be dismissed as ill-founded self-confidence. They are strongly confirmed by proven success in the administrative responsibilities of recent years. Even those British who are most sceptical of India's capacity for self-government have been forced to recognize the high measure of competence with which the Indians have handled the greatly enlarged powers conceded them under the new Government of India Act. They have even effected certain reforms which no foreign administration could attempt.

*ii*

The Christian Movement is affected by the general situation at almost every point. The vastness and intricacy of India's problems make it difficult to discern appreciable effect upon them. It is not hard to conceive what it would mean for the peoples of China if that land were to become preponderantly Christian in allegiance, or even how that result might be achieved. It is wellnigh impossible for a stranger to form a realistic picture of India as a Christian nation, at least within a measurable future.

Again, the resentment if not positive hostility toward British rule which smoulders in the depths of almost every patriotic Indian cannot fail to affect his relations with the loyal subjects of that rule, even those who are collaborators in common tasks. And, as already noted, in practice all foreign colleagues tend to come under a measure of suspi-

cion. In fact, the whole religious situation in India is colored by the fact that Christianity has come there so largely through representatives of a nation who, perhaps more than those of most countries, are constitutionally insensible to the infelicities of their nation's policies, and in considerable measure through a Church which is the yokemate of that nation's government. The British tradition of a State-Church, whatever may have been its contributions to Christian work in India, has unquestionably left an unhappy legacy of strain and confused issues.

Behind these complicating factors are the swirling currents of nationalist enthusiasm. One feels that with many, though by no means all, of the Indian Christians, passionate nationalism for the moment claims their most ardent allegiance; quite unconsciously, the Christian cause is accorded a secondary loyalty.

This attitude widely prevalent among leaders of the Indian Church, baffling and disconcerting as it is to fellow-Christians from abroad, must be put down partly to a temperamental strain which might well qualify the Indian for the rôle of *enfant terrible* in the pageant of all peoples. Much the most important and heartening observation to be made is that this attitude was closely paralleled in Chinese Christian leadership a decade ago when China was passing through stages of national development akin to those which mark India today. The attitude has almost completely disappeared from the present-day Chinese Christian consciousness, though with no slightest diminution in genuine patriotism. Almost certainly, these puzzling features of Indian Christianity are a passing phase and presage truer vision and greater power ahead. As happens periodically in other lands, the demand upon Christian missions is for good-humored patience and undaunted faith. That demand is being magnificently met.

*iii*

Moreover, what has been said portrays only one aspect of the Indian picture. In great sections of that teeming and polyglot population there are taking place today the most powerful and impressive movements of Christian life anywhere in the world. Indeed they are among the most striking and significant in the history of Christianity. To be sure, they are largely confined to outcaste elements of the populace, the so-called "untouchables"; but they are not less noteworthy on that account. Whole families, villages, tribes and communities are entering the Church. Transformations of personal character are so radical as to win the admiration of the most hostile. Transformations of social habits and aspirations are so widespread as to kindle new hope in the most sceptical. At the very moment when the leadership of the Christian Movement might seem threatened with harassment by irritation and tension, the simple message of Christ is lifting thousands from degradation to self-respect, from depravity to character, from despair to confident faith and hope. Here, as perhaps nowhere else on earth, the glory of Christian faith is again demonstrated in clear fruitage which all with eyes to behold must acknowledge.

To our misfortune, we saw almost nothing of these "mass movements" into the Christian Church. Our itinerary introduced us mainly to less spectacular and more familiar examples of Christian work. But any adequate report of the Christian Movement in India today would need to fasten major attention upon these amazing developments which escaped our scrutiny.

*iv*

Nevertheless, though our observations were largely confined to more traditional types of endeavor, they furnished proof aplenty of the significance of the Christian Mission in

its year-by-year normal activities. A dozen illustrations spring to mind:

The historic old center at Serampore just outside Calcutta. In 1793 William Carey defied the vested might of the British East India Company to initiate here one of the most comprehensive and fertile programs ever undertaken in behalf of another people—planting the first botanical garden in India, furthering manifold schemes for the improvement of farming and the lifting of native conditions, most notable of all, translating (with his corps of associates) and publishing the Bible in over threescore languages and dialects—more than half of the different translations of the Scriptures then available. Carey has been called “the founder of the modern missionary movement”; Serampore, “the cradle of modern misisions.”

In the heart of Calcutta, the old Thoburn Memorial Church. There a most difficult ministry principally for Anglo-Indians is carried forward with superlative patience and grace by Carl and Elizabeth Bare who astounded their parishioners in a fashionable New York suburb by resigning that comfortable and thriving charge to fulfill a life-long pledge of service to India at great personal sacrifice.

A dozen miles on the other side of Calcutta, the impressive simplicity and quiet strength of a remarkable boys' school, Sikshasangha, under the direction of an Indian Christian of great dignity and vision, S. K. Chatterji.

Up the Ganges at Asansol, an outstanding center for rural reconstruction directed by Fred Williams of the American Methodists. A model village built of the same mud which is the staple of Indian village construction but with charm, durability and adequate sanitary arrangements has won high praise from the Government of India. Humming trade and craft classes and vigorous sport are preparing several score of happy youth for leadership in India's most pressing social problem. At the center of the community, a gracious



Christian place of worship in a style embodying the finest elements of native religious architecture with sides open to the breezes offers one of the most satisfying instances of indigenous church building.

Another center of village work near Lahore hardly less impressive despite its complete dearth of equipment. To a hundred families whose existence in primitive mud dwellings and unrelieved monotony seems almost smothered by dust-clouds which silt upon them continuously from the surrounding desert, an Indian teacher and preacher are bringing the rudiments of education, cheer and faith without even a room for school or church. It is typical of tens of thousands of Indian villages as yet untouched by any ripple from the tidal currents of modern civilization.

In Lahore itself, a fine big Indian church presided over by one of my Seminary classmates who is now Moderator of the United Church of North India. And the Forman Christian College with one of the most distinguished Indian educators as its president. And the charming Kinnaird College for women, under the leadership of a Scotswoman, just erecting new buildings on the outskirts of the city. And one of the most notable centers of the Young Men's Christian Association in India.

At the heart of Benares in the midst of sordidness and degradation of worship for which the most lurid descriptions hardly prepare one, a little union Mission where two Indian Christians labor quietly but tirelessly in answering the inquiries of fellow-countrymen who come to perform pilgrim rites of Hinduism but with profound disquiet in their spirits.

At Allahabad, the nest of institutions, perhaps more widely known in America than any other Christian center in India. Here is the famous Agricultural Institute where for more than a quarter of a century, Sam Higginbottom pioneered experiments in stock-breeding and farming on which

the Government is now building its vast schemes for rural rehabilitation. And a leprosy sanitarium with its fine orphanage for the unfortunate children of lepers. And Ewing Christian College, largely under the leadership of Wooster College alumni. And Holland Hostel in the University of Allahabad. And a remarkable dispensary under the direction of Doctor Douglas Forman, which today is filling something of the prophetic rôle in community health service which the agricultural station and leper-work and schools discharged in their respective fields in earlier days. And, close to the campus of Ewing Christian College, the national headquarters of the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma and Ceylon with its all-Indian staff.

In the old city of Delhi, one of the finest Christian colleges in the world, St. Stephen's, has as its head a man of outstanding distinction both in education and in the Church, S. K. Mukarji. Here our path crossed that of Robert Mackie, General Secretary of the World's Student Christian Federation, on his first visit to the student Christian movements of the East. In New Delhi near by, where imperial extravagance has erected capital buildings in overpowering splendor, the Y. M. C. A. is doing an unusual work in an appropriately lovely setting.

At Agra, almost under the shadow of the Taj Mahal, another British college, St. John's, also stands in the forefront of Indian higher education. Perhaps its most notable present experiment is a fascinating program of rural service which takes students for several months of residence in depressed villages. It is directed by a young economist and sociologist part of whose training was gained at Yale on a Commonwealth Fellowship.

Finally, our itinerary brought us to South India, to the magnificent campus of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram, and to the Madras Conference itself.



These varied instances well illustrate the extraordinary diversity of circumstances in which the Christian Mission labors, and hardly less the diversity of programs it brings to the needs presented to it. Almost side by side there stand examples of magnificent equipment and of no equipment at all; of deep-rooted work with both the mellow glow and the limiting encrustations of long tradition and daring experiments blazing trails into virgin fields; of great centers which embrace the full range of Christian service to every aspect of life and tiny stations where all help comes from a single ill-equipped and little-trained native worker; of ministry to India's most cultivated aristocracy and to India's most pitiable social outcasts; of gracious friendliness with learned pundits of Hinduism and Mohammedanism and compassionate relief for the neglected millions of those faiths; of privileged association at fountain sources of one of mankind's most ancient cultures and hazardous adventures almost beyond the protections of civilization; of determined preaching of dogmatic faith little altered by the advance of modern thought and irenic interpretation in which Christian faith is exhibited in relation to the whole of human culture. No wonder it is impossible to describe quite simply and in a few sentences "what Christian missions are." In a single country, they are all these things, and many more.

Even less possible is it to declare confidently which instances or types of missionary endeavor are the most effective, most important, most worthy of support. To attempt such a judgment is to overlook the unpredictable and incalculable in spiritual influence, to miss altogether the subtlety of religious reality and its contagion. It is quite beyond human calculus to discern from what place or which person the profoundest and most abiding transformations may flow. Here is one of the most important recognitions for an

adequate comprehension of the Christian Movement in the world. Of late years, it has become customary to think of the glory of the Christian Mission in terms of this or that instance of exceptionally able and important achievement. The conclusions of the Laymen's Inquiry have tended to strengthen this attitude. In fact, the glory of the Christian Mission is not in this or that piece of exceptional work, but in the Christian Movement in its entirety—in its whole sweep and reach. It is the total impact of the Christian Movement which is most important—an impact effected by the combined influence of innumerable enterprises, many unimpressive in size and equipment, and of unnumbered and unnamed individuals, both nationals and foreigners, who give tirelessly to its tasks their best of ability and devotion.

14.

## *The Meaning of Madras*

FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY MEN AND women gathered on the lovely campus of the Madras Christian College at Tambaram on the evening of December 12, 1938. They were drawn out of every continent, from over sixty nations, speaking more than a hundred tongues. In their totality, they constituted beyond all comparison the most widely representative body of Christians which had ever assembled. Probably they were the most widely representative gathering of men and women which has ever met in conference under any auspices.

The cosmopolitan character of the assemblage was graphically symbolized in the wealth of national costumes which would tempt an imaginative pen to vivid portraiture—the delicate kimonos of the Japanese, the gorgeous sari of the Indian women, the extraordinary headdress of the Burmese, the stark white robes of certain of Mr. Gandhi's followers. Only the chaste and lovely costume of the Koreans was absent. Their names appeared in the official roster, but footnoted with the explanation, "prevented by circumstances from attending." Under present Japanese administration, it is unwise for a representative of any Korean organization to participate in an international gathering. With this sad exception, almost every people on the face of the earth was represented.

The Madras Conference was, formally, an enlarged decen-

nial meeting of the International Missionary Council.<sup>1</sup> Actually, it was a consultation of the responsible leadership of the world-wide Christian Movement to counsel for its advance in the decade just ahead. The significance of the Conference is to be discovered partly in the circumstances of its meeting, partly in its direct accomplishments, partly in what the Conference itself disclosed and symbolized.

ii

The meeting at Madras stood in the streams of three world Christian movements, each marked by a series of great Christian assemblies.

The earliest, and that to which Madras was most intimately related, took its rise in the missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910. This was the first in the sequence of "ecumenical" Christian gatherings which have held such a notable importance in the life of Protestantism during this century. It was the Edinburgh Conference which gave birth to the International Missionary Council. A second world missionary conference under its sponsorship assembled at Jerusalem in 1928. Madras was the third.

The other two streams of ecumenical activity sprang out of the post-war yearning among the churches for greater unity in face of their common responsibilities. One, functioning through the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, originated in a world conference at Stockholm in 1925 and continued in the Oxford Conference of 1937. Its aim has been to link churches in united impact upon the great social and international problems of the society which surrounds and conditions the life of Christians. The other, concentrating

<sup>1</sup>The International Missionary Council unites the two great elements in the Christian missionary enterprise—on the one hand the mission societies of the missionary-sending churches of Europe and North America and on the other hand the National Christian Councils of the missionary-receiving churches of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Islands.

upon the factors within and among the churches themselves which impede their fuller unity, began in the World Conference on Faith and Order which met at Lausanne in 1927 and reassembled at Edinburgh ten years later.

That decade, however, had witnessed the slow but natural drawing together of these two movements, one concerned with more effective common influence upon the world, the other occupied with more worthy internal unity. Responding to this inevitable logic and also to widespread desire for a single instrument to represent united Protestant and Orthodox Christendom, the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences took steps to join "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order" through the formation of a World Council of Churches.<sup>2</sup>

With one important aspect of the new situation, Oxford and Edinburgh made no attempt to deal. If Christians in all parts of the earth are becoming increasingly conscious of themselves as a single World Community, what is the meaning of this mounting consciousness for the "foreign" missionary undertakings of the churches of the West? If Protestant and Orthodox Churches are to symbolize their essential unity in a single World Council, what should be the relation of the International Missionary Council to it? What place in the nascent Ecumenical Christendom is to be taken by the youthful Christian churches of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Islands of the Pacific? At Oxford and Edinburgh, the "Younger Churches" were barely represented. Their distinctive viewpoints and problems were seldom under consideration; they were never at the focus of attention. No effort was made to declare the implications of Oxford and Edinburgh for their faith and life, or to define the rôle of the Younger Churches in the emerging World Community. This great task was deliberately reserved for the meeting at Madras at Christmastide, 1938.

It was the position of the Madras Conference within these

<sup>2</sup>This development is more fully traced below, pp. 142 ff.

three great streams of ecumenical thought and life, indeed at their confluence, which furnished a part of the perspective for its meeting.

*iii*

Only a part, however. More important in urging its importance and forming its atmosphere were certain definite issues which press urgently upon the life of the Younger Churches and call for the wisest Christian statesmanship.

In a dozen countries on almost every continent—in Japan, India, Turkey, South Africa, South America, Malaya—virile movements of self-conscious nationalism dominate attention, win ardent support and in some instances demand and receive absolute allegiance over every other devotion, buttressing their claims with religious or quasi-religious sanctions. What should be the response to such claims of Christians in these lands, almost always an insignificant minority within the national life? Totalitarianism presents sufficiently harassing difficulties to the ancient and established churches of Germany or Italy. But totalitarianism in Japan or Turkey confronts the young and tiny Christian groups there with problems of far more ominous import.

In other nations equally far-flung—in China, the Philippines, Mexico, certain Latin-American republics—Communism attracts the social ardor of youth and serves them as a religion. What attitude should the little Christian communities take up toward Communism, either as a philosophy or as a movement of practical reform?

On these questions the Oxford Conference had spoken, but mainly in theoretical terms and with the European and American situations principally in view. What concrete guidance could the World Church offer to youthful Christian bodies whose very existence is challenged and threatened by the powerful new paganisms?

Again, two of the oldest and strongest of the Younger



Churches find their nations locked in brutal struggle. And across the consciousness of all delegates lowered the shadow of a still greater and more sanguine conflict which had all but broken upon the world at Munich three months earlier. What should a world gathering of Christians declare in face of the imminent threat of world cataclysm? What, if anything, could it say more specifically to the Sino-Japanese War or to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, when its word might stir repercussions imperilling the safety of tens of thousands of fellow-Christians in those lands? For Madras these were no speculative queries, but life-and-death decisions of the most immediate and insistent urgency.

*iv*

Still more important, however, in justifying the calling of the Conference and in determining its agenda were nests of problems, less spectacular than the pressing issues of the hour, but of far greater moment for the ongoing Christian Movement throughout the world. Some of these, matters of basic principle and practice, concerned:

- The inner life and organization of the Younger Churches.
- Their economic independence and self-support.
- The enlistment and training of adequate leadership for them.
- The relations of Younger and Older Churches.
- The place of missionaries and of mission support in the work of the Younger Churches.
- The propagation of sectarian divisions by missions from the Older Churches.
- The relative importance of education, of medicine, of social service, of direct evangelism in the work of the Church.
- The impact of Christian ethics upon industrial, racial and international life.
- The attitude of Christian faith to non-Christian religions.
- The attitude of individual Christians toward adherents of other religions.

The relation of the individual Christian to the Church.

The relation of the different Communions to the Church Universal.

The relation of the national community to the World Community of Christ.

What new discoveries and developments in these diverse areas had the past decade brought forth which might guide the world-wide advance of the Christian Movement as it moves forward into the tasks of the years just ahead?

These questions, and many more, pressed for consideration.

v

The positive value of the Conference can be appraised only in terms of its actual influence upon the life and work of the Christian Movement in the world. The achievements by which it would wish mainly to be judged are the wisdom of its recommendations dealing with specific and detailed problems and suggesting glamour only to those who know their vital importance for the Christian Cause, and the success of these proposals in actually modifying Christian practice in threescore lands and thousands of centers of work. This influence only the judgment of the future can measure.

The immediate and practical contributions of Madras are largely embedded in certain of the sectional reports where the eye of the outsider will hardly penetrate.<sup>3</sup> Inevitably, the sixteen reports are of uneven strength and value. But some of them stake out the lines of advance for the entire Christian Movement into the distant future. Significantly, these are chiefly documents which deal, not with underlying issues of faith and philosophy, but with very concrete matters of practical program.

To cite a single illustration, the report on "The Indigenous

<sup>3</sup>The findings of the conference are given in full in *The World Mission of the Church*, published by The International Missionary Council, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Ministry of the Church, both Ordained and Lay" is one of the soundest, most statesmanlike and most important documents given to the life of the Church in recent years. Here, in less than a dozen pages, are set forth a philosophy of the Christian ministry, an analysis of the problems of its training, and a comprehensive scheme for more adequate preparation which point the way far beyond the present practice of the Church anywhere in the world. If its recommendations, even in part, win incorporation within the actual programs of churches and missions, the leadership of the Younger Churches will be lifted immeasurably above any previous competence and effectiveness. We may go further. If its proposals become practice, theological education within the Younger Churches, granted the disparity in resources available, will stand far in advance of prevailing standards within the Older Churches of the West.

Hardly less notable are the recommendations on "An Adequate Program for Christian Literature." This is a topic whose central importance is not likely to be appreciated until one discovers education as the very foundation of an effective Christian Evangel, recognizes that the spread of an *intelligent* Christian faith depends upon the availability of the documents of that faith, especially the Scriptures, and then grasps that the necessary literature must be rendered into hundreds of languages and thousands of dialects. In its totality it is a task of translation and publication without any parallel in the chronicle of mankind's age-long quest for truth and learning.

Likewise worthy of special attention are reports dealing with the laying of sound and truly Christian economic foundations under young and struggling churches, with the Christian ministry of health and healing, with the new orientation of Christian education, with the complex and much-disputed questions of the place and preparation of missionaries in the further growth of the Christian Movement. To specify further would be to suggest invidious comparisons.

Not one of the sixteen main sectional reports and the eight briefer statements on special topics is lacking in fresh illumination upon the realities of the Christian World Movement today, and in suggestive proposals for its sounder and more effective advance tomorrow.

*vi*

By those who were not present, the Madras Conference might have been expected to pronounce explicit condemnation upon flagrant instances of national wrongdoing in the contemporary world—Japan's aggression in China, persecution of the Jews, the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, the war in Spain. Its silence on these matters was a disappointment to many delegates also. It was due not to cowardice but to considered conviction.

For one thing, it was the necessary condition for the inclusiveness of the Conference. Members of several delegations, notably the German and the Japanese, arrived at Tambaram knowing that, if the Conference implicated them in statements even inferentially derogatory to their governments, they could not return to their own lands or could return only to arrest and imprisonment. Their fellow-delegates came to understand the conditions on which their attendance was possible, were determined to have their collaboration even on those terms, and loyally accepted and respected the limitations implicit in the presence of colleagues from dictator states.

However, there was a far weightier consideration counseling reticence. Any condemnation of the national policy of Germany or Japan or Italy by a great world Christian convention would not merely have endangered the freedom and possibly the lives of Christian subjects of those governments. Almost certainly it would have provoked retaliation in the form of cruel persecution upon Christians of minority peoples who are at the mercy of those governments—upon de-

fenseless Christians in Korea, in Manchuria, in "occupied" China, in Czechoslovakia. That price, to be paid not by Conference delegates but by fellow-Christians who were not present and who had no slightest responsibility for the evils condemned, the Conference was unwilling to exact.

The decision to remain silent was taken deliberately and with full calculation of consequences. On the last day, in connection with its own report on "The Church and the International Order" and confronting its inability to declare the Christian judgment upon specific national sins, the Conference adopted a special resolution, stating its position clearly:

"Throughout our session, we have been vividly conscious of the areas in the world where aggression or persecution prevails today. And we are not unaware of the widespread expectation that this representative world gathering of Christians should seek to voice the overwhelming Christian opinion in these matters.

"We are penitently conscious that in the past all our nations have sinned and that we are all involved in the system which has resulted in the present aggression and persecution. Our own gathering has been to us a convincing promise of a world fellowship in Christ which transcends all divisions of nation and race, and thus condemns the strife and conflict which so largely dominate the peoples of the world today.

"We are even more vividly conscious of the sufferings of our fellow Christians in these areas who strive to be loyal to their consecration to Christ and of the still greater dangers which constantly threaten them. While several of our reports express our convictions regarding international conflict and its causes, we are unwilling that words of ours which cost us nothing should aggravate the problems and hazards of our fellow-Christians. Therefore, after careful and prayerful consideration, we have deliberately refrained from any further pronouncement which might injure them. But we express to them and to all of whatever faith who suffer under aggression or persecution our profound sympathy in their difficulties. And we call upon Christians everywhere to pray

for them, to bring them practical aid, and to redouble effort to remove the basic causes of their suffering."

Intelligent and responsible Christians who might incline to criticize Madras for not issuing ringing denunciations of specific national wrongdoing would do well to gain a thorough understanding of precisely what the desired pronouncement by the Conference would have meant, not for the delegates but for those who would have suffered from it. Madras may be charged with unwillingness to proclaim the Christian condemnation of these evils. It cannot be charged with ill-considered or irresponsible speech.

*vii*

Important as were the proposals and plans developed by the Madras Conference on the specific issues it had been assembled to consider, it is probable that the judgment of history will find it more significant in what it symbolized than in what it accomplished. For Madras was the Christian World Movement in miniature, in epitome. In its life and thought, as in a mirror, the present reality of that Movement in manifold facets was reflected. Some of its more striking features, at Madras for the first time unmistakably disclosed, were:

1. *The strength of the Younger Christian Churches.* This was demonstrated in the influence of their representatives upon every phase of the deliberations. By happy design, the membership of the Conference was divided almost equally between Christians of the West and of the East. By the same wise plan, formal leadership in the Conference—chairmanships and secretaryships of Sections, platform addresses, conduct of public worship, committee responsibilities—had been assigned to delegates from Older and Younger Churches in about equal numbers. But by an inner logic which no one had foreseen and which could not have been prearranged, actual influence upon the decisions and achievements of the Conference—influence springing from inherent ability and

wisdom—was so evenly distributed that no one could possibly have said which counted for more, the voices of the West or of the East. Christians from the Younger Churches pulled their full weight and, in the estimate of some, more than their full weight in the common tasks.

One striking illustration of this fact we have already had occasion to note in another connection. It was widely remarked among the Western members that the strongest single delegation at Madras, man for man (and woman for woman, for its leader was a woman), was not the British or the American, but that from China. When one reflects upon the desperate crisis of that nation and its churches, the separation of free from "occupied" China, the obstacles to effective collaboration between the different areas, the extreme difficulty with which foremost leaders could be spared from the national emergency, the necessity of eleventh-hour replacements, this is the more remarkable tribute to the present power and vision of Christianity in China. By implication, it bears impressive witness to the strength of leadership throughout the Younger Churches.

viii

2. Madras was notable not only for the leadership of the Younger Churches, but also for *the leadership of younger men and women*. The average age of its entire membership was forty-six. Characteristically, the average among representatives of Younger Churches must have been barely forty. Of the thirty-odd delegates who served as chairmen and secretaries of the Sections which carried the major work of the Conference, the average age was forty-eight.

It is doubtful whether there has ever been a world gathering of comparable weight and importance, certainly in modern times, where the voice of the oncoming leadership mingled so fully and influentially with the wisdom of experience and maturity. There was no sense of the familiar antithesis

between youth and age, between the "pre-war" and "post-war" generations. This fact is rich with promise for the health and strength of the Church in the days ahead when its direction comes to pass from the hands of the veteran leadership which has guided it through the past half century of vigorous expansion, deepening crisis and then war.

ix

3. In underlying convictions and in message, Madras succeeded in capturing and reflecting *the temper of advance for the whole of the Christian Movement in the world*. That temper pervades the findings as it permeated the discussions which gave them birth. It must be discovered less in any formal expositions than in the presuppositions which undergird all that was said. At least five notes mark that temper.

a. *The centrality of the Church*. From its earliest projection, "The Church" had been proposed as the focal theme for the Conference. That decision in turn was a response to the steadily mounting re-emphasis upon "the Church" in Christian circles throughout the world—an emphasis which had found clear expression at both Oxford and Edinburgh. It was also a recognition of the crucial importance of the Church as the power-house of the many diverse enterprises of the Christian Mission. But the choice was prophetic. If there had been no provision for its consideration, "the Church" would irresistibly have claimed the center of attention. Here was the major concern and confidence of the vast majority of those who assembled from the ends of the earth at Tambaram. Indeed, it is the continuous stress upon the Church, finding expression in every document of the Conference, which connects the diverse findings on over twenty themes and binds them into coherent unity.

It is not the Invisible Church or some Ideal Church of a hypothetical future in which the Madras delegates lodged



their hope. Rather it is the existential Church, the actual organized and living Movement of Christ in the world with all its divisions and inadequacies. Thus the statement on "The Faith by Which the Church Lives"<sup>4</sup> concludes its exposition of *The Heart of the Gospel* with a strong declaration of the place which the true Church, together with God and Christ, holds as the third great reality in that Gospel. And then it adds:

"In spite of all the weakness and shortcomings of our churches, Christ's true Church is within them; and our hope for the redemption of mankind centers in His work through them."

Continuing with a call to the Church itself, the report declares:

"No one so fully knows the failings, the pettiness, the faithlessness which infect the Church's life as we who are its members. Yet, in all humility and penitence, we are constrained to declare to a baffled and needy world that the Christian Church, under God, is its greatest hope.

"To all who care for the peace and health of mankind we issue a call to lend their aid to the Church which stands undaunted amidst the shattered fragments of humanity and works tirelessly for the healing of the nations. . . ."

To some, Madras seemed to lay an emphasis upon the Church somewhat disproportionate to other basic Christian themes, such as the Kingdom of God. Most criticisms on this score spring from an elementary confusion of thought. They speak as though "the Church" and "the Kingdom" were two antithetic or irreconcilable realities between which choice must be made, and as though Madras had deliberately chosen the Church and rejected the Kingdom. The true answer to the alternative is not "either-or" but "both-and." As well confront an ill man with a choice between the medicine which

<sup>4</sup>See below, Appendix, pp. 219 ff.

might cure him and the physician through whom alone that medicine can reach him!

The emphasis upon the Church is not to the neglect of the centrality of the Kingdom. It is declared that "Christianity comes to the world both as a Message and as a Movement." Reference to the Kingdom is reiterated almost as incessantly as mention of the Church. Many of the sixteen reports are partially occupied with the building of a Christian society as concrete realization of the Kingdom; three of the sixteen are wholly so occupied. The report which concerned itself explicitly with "The Church—Its Nature and Function" thus defines the responsibility of the Church: "The essential task of the Church is to be the ambassador of Christ, proclaiming the Kingdom," and it declares that "the Church cannot fulfill its task as herald, exemplar and builder of the Kingdom of God unless . . ." This is representative of the mind of the Conference. It resolutely refused to choose either the Kingdom or the Church to the neglect of the other. Each has its indispensable place in the full Christian message for the world—on the one hand the core of the Christian message and the normative ideal for a Christian society, on the other hand the essential instrument for the proclamation of that message and for the realization of that ideal first within its own life and then throughout the world.

In the larger perspective, it may be contended that the emphasis is slightly out of focus. But Madras felt this to be needed to restore the Church to a true recognition. Our world has not been without the medicine for its cure—Christian faith and its message of the Kingdom—these nineteen centuries. It has been, and is today, tragically poor in worthy and effective agencies for the convincing administration of that medicine. Precisely this is the Church's task. There is no other instrument for its fulfilment.

Madras clearly revealed where, in fact, the Christian Cause in its length and breadth is determined to place central re-

liance today. Facing the conflicts, frustrations and chaos of contemporary history, the confidence of Christians upon which they are prepared to stake everything focuses in the ongoing corporate Christian Movement—the living Church of Christ in the world. The remainder of the vast work of the Conference was largely directed toward making that existential Church a stronger, more effective and more worthy instrument of its high function in the economy of God and the desperate crisis of our society.

b. *The Adequacy and Necessity of Christian Faith.* Here the contrast to discussions of a decade ago is striking. The note of uncertainty, of half-convinced apology, of defensive has passed. There is forthright and wholly sincere confession of the failures and apostasies of *the churches*. But of the absolute worth of *Christ's Gospel*, and of the essentiality of the Christian Movement as its bearer, there was apparent at Tambaram no subconscious query. The conviction of the delegates was uniformly positive, confident, evangelical.

So, regarding the relation of Christian faith to non-Christian religions, there was no attempt at elaborate comparisons. The question fell for consideration in two different Sections of the Conference. Yet their declarations on this matter are brief and direct. The Section on "The Witness of the Church in Relation to the Non-Christian Religions, the New Paganisms, and the Cultural Heritage of the Nations" concerned itself mainly with rapid and far-reaching changes in the world of non-Christian faiths and the practical relationships between Christianity and them. Section I on "The Faith by Which the Church Lives" devoted to the whole matter less than two pages. This cursoriness in treatment must on no account be put down to unwillingness to face the issues, or indifference to them, or uncertainty regarding the Christian attitude in the matter. Rather, it appeared that the conviction of the great bulk of the delegates was quite clear, and

could be very briefly and simply put. The position may be paraphrased as follows:

Everywhere and at all times, God has been seeking to disclose himself to men. Nowhere has the Divine Initiative been wholly without response. Among the saints of all religions are those who clearly have been touched by God and have responded to his touch. Within the non-Christian religions as organic wholes likewise, many, though not all, Christians believe that they discern marks of God's revelation.

But these partial apprehensions of God, whether by individuals or by religions, pale before the disclosure of God in Christ. All must be tested before him; and this is true as well within as outside the Christian Church. He is the Way, the Truth, the Life for all; he alone is adequate for the world's need.

Therefore Christians are irresistibly impelled to seek to bring all men to him, that by him Christians and non-Christians alike may be redeemed into fulness of sonship to his God and Father. For this task, the Christian Church is the chief instrument.

Then follow a number of excellent paragraphs on the responsibility of Christians to understand and appreciate the religious heritage of those amongst whom they live and work, on the importance of rooting Christianity deeply in the soil of the peoples to whom it is taken that it may achieve truly indigenous expression in worship, institutions, literature, architecture, etc., and on the error of substituting the scriptures of non-Christian religions for the Old Testament—"Jesus' Bible" and the "indispensable background" for Christian faith.

Possibly the non-Christian religions were not lifted to greater prominence at Madras because it was recognized that today it is not they which are the most vigorous rival claimants for the allegiance of men, but rather the new paganisms of Nationalism and Communism. Especially in the Church's

approach to youth, and in almost every corner of the world, these are the attractions which furnish practical alternatives to Christianity and widely serve men as religions. The Madras Report made no effort to add to the careful and authoritative appraisal of these pagan faiths in the Oxford Conference findings. It did repeatedly stress their power in the most far-flung areas of the world's life and the imperative obligation upon the churches to study the reasons for their emergence, to recognize the elements of truth they embrace which Christianity has often neglected, and to declare clearly and unflinchingly the points where they stand in irreconcilable conflict with Christian faith.

The main reason for the comparative brevity and directness in the whole matter of "Christianity and Other Faiths" must be sought at a deeper level. Extended essays in comparative religions have one of two purposes. They may seek to persuade the adherents of other faiths. More frequently, their real aim is to repersuade and stiffen the trembling loyalties of those who advance them. But formal declarations of a great ecclesiastical assembly are hardly likely to prove effective instruments of persuasion to those who do not share its presuppositions; in any event, this Conference was addressing itself primarily to those within, not outside, the churches. As for an elaborate apologetic which might strengthen wavering conviction among Christians, at Madras it would have been gratuitous. There was no sign that a single one of the nearly five hundred delegates felt the slightest uncertainty regarding the adequacy and authority of Christian faith, the need of all peoples and nations for it, and the clamant responsibility of Christians everywhere to redouble present measures to speed its spread throughout the world. Nothing more clearly distinguished the Conference in its whole range than a certainty of the truth and power of the Gospel, and therefore of the unique importance of the Movement which is its unworthy bearer.

c. *The Responsibility for Evangelism.* Inevitably, this strong and clearheaded grip upon the relevance and adequacy of the Christian Gospel impels a new impetus in its proclamation, by life no less than by word. Within this ecumenical setting, the world-wide evangelistic task of the churches was realized anew and in quite new terms. The Christian Mission is seen and accepted as the universal responsibility of all Christians without regard to place or heritage.

Here, again, there is no hesitant uncertainty. There is no retreat before the old word "evangelism," though its meaning is enlarged and enriched by the fuller vision of the significance of the Christian Mission. The summons to evangelism is not a frenzied exhortation to half-convinced adherents, but rather a firm resolution to greater faithfulness in what is, for every true Christian, a responsibility precedent to all others. To confront our world with honest eyes and then to know the facts of the Christian Movement in that world is to be claimed by that Movement for unstinting devotion in bearing its reality to all men and all human problems.

d. *A Return to the Bible.* The Madras Report follows its exposition of *The Heart of the Gospel* with these sentences:

"If the Church is to repossess this its faith in all its uniqueness and adequacy and power, one indispensable thing demanding special emphasis today is the continuous nourishing of its life upon the Bible. We are bold therefore to summon all Christians to a deeper and more consistent study of the Bible, instructor and sustainer of the Christian faith through the ages."

There may appear to be nothing noteworthy, certainly nothing original, in this injunction. Exhortations to study the Bible have studded Christian pronouncements all too familiarly. But the delegates intended to give the familiar

injunction a quite new emphasis and importance. They cite it as the one indispensable necessity for the Church's renewal. They were keenly aware of the widespread determination among Christians everywhere to lay fresh hold upon the deeper foundations of faith. They were also aware that if that determination is to find fulfilment and bear significant result, it cannot be primarily through a return to the faith of the Reformation, or of Aquinas, or of Augustine, far less through any particular brand of contemporary theology. It can only be through a recovery of the faith of the Bible.

In the work of Christian missions, this is not a matter for controversy. It is indisputable and fundamental. A few weeks' exposure to the actual problems and realities of mission work should convince the most blatant Modernist of that fact. For missions, the Bible is both a practical and a strategic necessity, the one *sine qua non*. It is the Bible and the Bible alone which truly introduces the uninitiated to the essence of Christian faith and to him who stands at its center. It is the Bible and the Bible alone which adequately nurtures the tender new Christian life, without rootage in a rich Christian heritage and constantly enveloped by non-Christian or anti-Christian influences. However much the Bible may have ceased to be a life-giving and life-determining reality for the sophisticated and rather pallid Christianity widespread in the West, among the Younger Churches it is today what it has always been for the core of the Christian Movement, not in theory but in reality—a book which actually works miracles of transformation in human lives and then holds and sustains and nourishes them in their new existence. It is not one book of inspiration among many, or even the Book of books; it stands absolutely alone in its power, a power ever demonstrated afresh.

But the Bible is a strategic as well as a practical necessity. If the peoples of the Younger Churches are ever to develop a strong and sound "indigenous" interpretation of Christian faith, it must be from thorough grounding in the Bible. I

have quoted earlier one of the ablest theological teachers on the mission field, himself a vigorous Barthian in personal adherence, who said to me, "We try to introduce our students for the ministry to the theology of the Bible and of the Bible alone." And for the good reason that any other theology is bound to be a foreign and Western importation which cannot hope to nourish a native theology at once truly Christian and thoroughly indigenous.

Here, as at many points, the strong conviction of the Younger Churches is pointing the way of advance for the Older Churches also. For them, likewise, a recovery of the Bible is a necessity both practical and strategic, a necessity for both life and faith. If the rebirth of religion for which men increasingly look and anticipations of which are not lacking is to eventuate with reality and power, it seems likely to be on one condition preeminently—a united and serious return to the Bible. Indeed it may well be that spiritual awakening, in a form and scope more significant than sporadic and short-lived bursts here and there, waits upon a resolute redirecting of men to the Scriptures and a devising of methods for achieving that return which shall be scholarly and critical yet also determined and compelling.

For us, also, a recovery of the Bible is a strategic necessity for the Church's thought. The objective of our next great advance is not an indigenous theology but an ecumenical theology. A truly ecumenical theology can never be developed primarily from the thought of the Reformers, or Aquinas, or Augustine, far less any of the moderns. The only promising seed-plot is within the thought of the Bible where all the diverse branches and traditions claim their origin and seek their authority. Ecumenical theology, while not strictly Biblical theology, must flower out of the soil of the faith of the Bible. Therefore, its precondition is a united restudy of Biblical faith.

e. *The Necessity of Christian Unity.* If "the Church" is



the term and reality which connects the diverse findings of the Conference and binds them into coherent unity, there is another less overt but no less unmistakable thread which weaves its way through every document like an inescapable motif—the obligation to greater cooperation and unity.

Cooperation is, in the first place, a practical essential for an effective Mission. We are told that the present tragic deficiencies in leadership cannot be met except through united training. It is urged that there can be no adequate program of Christian literature, so important for advance, except through unified planning and publication. The whole vast enterprise of Christian education cries for strengthening through unification. No self-respecting response to the unfinished evangelistic task is possible except through a common plan. For the enlistment, training and deployment of missionaries, for the economic stability of the Younger Churches, for effective impact upon pressing social problems, for a strategy in any way worthy of the Church's opportunity and responsibility, and for a dozen other vital purposes, immediate and radical coordination of Christian resources is the indispensable prerequisite.

For the Younger Churches of Christ, however, unity is more than a practical essential; it is a spiritual obligation. Whatever the views of the older and entrenched churches of the West, the mind of the Younger Churches is clear, positive, well-nigh unanimous. Appropriately, the last report of the Conference which claimed its attention at the very end concerns "Cooperation and Unity." Admirable in its clarity, its fairness and its conscientious fidelity to the actual state of conviction among *all* the Churches, it accurately discloses the present situation. That report concludes with a statement, not by the whole Conference nor even by the whole of this Section (quite possibly the statement could not have won their full approval), but by the members from the Younger Churches. That statement declares:

"During the discussion it became abundantly clear that the divisions of Christendom were seen in their worst light in the Mission Field. Instances were cited by the representatives of the Younger Churches of disgraceful competition, wasteful overlapping, and of groups and individuals turned away from the Church because of the divisions within. Disunion is both a stumbling block to the faithful and a mockery to those without. We confess with shame that we ourselves have often been the cause of bringing dishonour to the religion of our Master. The representatives of the Younger Churches in this Section one and all gave expression to the passionate longing that exists in all countries for visible union of the Churches. They are aware of the fact of spiritual unity; they record with great thankfulness all the signs of cooperation and understanding that are increasingly seen in various directions; but they realize that this is not enough. Visible and organic Union must be our goal. This, however, will require an honest study of those things in which the Churches have differences, a widespread teaching of the common Church membership in things that make for Union and venturesome sacrifice on the part of all. Such a Union alone will remove the evils arising out of our divisions. Union proposals have been put forward in different parts of the world. Loyalty, however, will forbid the Younger Churches going forward to consummate any union unless it receives the wholehearted support and blessing of those through whom these Churches have been planted. We are thus often torn between loyalty to our mother Churches and loyalty to our ideal of Union. We, therefore, appeal with all the fervour we possess, to the Missionary Societies and Boards and the responsible authorities of the older Churches, to take this matter seriously to heart, to labour with the Churches in the Mission Field to achieve this Union, to support and encourage us in all our efforts to put an end to the scandalous effects of our divisions, and to lead us in the path of Union—the Union for which our Lord prayed, through which the world would indeed believe in the Divine Mission of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

Here is the clear and authentic voice of the advance forces of the Christian World Movement.

x

4. In the International Missionary Council meeting at Madras, the *Universal Church of Christ* found concrete expression as never before in history. If we recognize that the Church is truly universal only as it embraces living communities of Christians among every race and in every nation, then at Madras that Universal Church was embodied in any adequate sense for the first time.

It had been foreseen in the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, but only by the eye of faith. It had been anticipated in the Jerusalem Conference of 1928, but there leadership was still predominantly western and missionary. At Madras, the world-wide Church of Christ was actually and fully present in the persons of its own members.

This universal character was happily symbolized in the membership. We noted above that it was the most widely representative meeting of Christians which had ever assembled.<sup>5</sup> Representatives of more different national groups from the continent of Africa were gathered at Madras than had ever come together in Africa itself. More different Christian bodies from the Latin American countries were represented than had ever met in conference on the Western Hemisphere. As already mentioned, Christians of East and West, of Older and Younger Churches participated in roughly equal numbers.

However, this universal character was much more than symbolized. It was realized in the life and work of the Conference. Edinburgh and Jerusalem, Stockholm and

<sup>5</sup>This record has since been surpassed by the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam in July, 1939. Its membership embraced "1350 official delegates from 71 countries representing 220 separately organized religious groups and national churches."

Lausanne, Oxford and Edinburgh had been prophetic. The Madras Conference went far beyond them. What had been for them prophecy was at Madras actualization. The familiar divisions which have dogged the missionary cause increasingly and have tended to erect weakening barriers—between West and East, between Older and Younger Churches, between “sending” and “receiving” countries, between missions and churches—were in fact completely overpassed. The important distinctions which they represent were not denied or neglected. But, as indications of superior and inferior ability, of greater or less authority, they were seen to have become obsolete. Here men and women from Europe and Asia, from Africa and the Americas conferred not merely with full equality of numbers and vote, but with absolute equality of inherent authority. They spoke, not primarily as representatives of particular areas or viewpoints, but as Christians bound in a single all-compelling Cause and sharing together whatever of value might have come to them as individuals or as churches.

It is customary to speak of the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences of 1937 as “ecumenical conferences.” So they were in the sense that all main branches of the Christian Church, save Rome, officially participated. But these conferences were overwhelmingly European and American alike in membership and in viewpoint. Voices from the great young Churches of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific Isles numbered barely a dozen among four hundred, and were almost silenced in the bedlam of Western accents. In the deeper and truer sense of a gathering of Christ’s followers out of every race and land, Madras was far more “ecumenical.” Indeed, it was the most truly ecumenical conference in the history of Christendom.

This fact did not have to be argued or forcibly created. It was self-evident. No one alert to the historic development of the Christian Movement could miss it, and its immeasur-

able significance. For what was so compellingly actualized at the Conference was truly symbolic. Madras *was* the Christian Movement in miniature. That Movement is now a Universal Church.

*xi*

5. One further aspect of the Madras Conference may, in the longer view, prove its greatest significance. This is simply the fact that it was possible to assemble under Christian auspices in the midst of the gravest international tensions of modern times a conference representative of virtually all the nations of the world. Under no other sponsorship could this have been accomplished. Thus was demonstrated the unique reality of the Christian World Movement as a factor in the community of nations. To the meaning of this fact we shall return in our final summary.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>See below, pp. 195 ff.

15.

## *Toward a United Christendom*

THESE LAST YEARS, THE CHRISTIAN Churches have been learning to think of themselves as a World Community as perhaps never before in Christian history. This trend was clearly disclosed in the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences of 1937. It was disclosed in them; it was not created by them. For it is increasingly recognized that Oxford and Edinburgh, like Madras, were even more significant in what they revealed than in what they accomplished. They revealed that over the last score of years among Christian leaders of every land and every principal body (except the Church of Rome), there have been emerging, almost imperceptibly, a deepening awareness of the underlying unity of the Christian Churches as a world movement, and a determination that that unity shall be given more tangible and effective expression.

### *ii*

Developments toward unity antedated the World War. For more than half a century preceding, and by a dozen different paths, Christians of different lands and communions had been reaching out for closer contacts and toward deeper and more permanent fellowships. These approaches reflected the drift in general culture. The ends of

the earth were becoming conscious of one another. Despite tensions and minor wars, a sense of world reality and world unity was growing upon men. Powerful centripetal forces appeared the dominant influence within mankind's life. Christian leadership joined in these realizations and anticipations.

We have just referred to the most comprehensive and impressive expression of these trends, itself the direct outgrowth of Christian missions. The assemblage at Edinburgh in 1910 of over a thousand representatives of missionary interest from every corner of the world, even though they were mainly of European and American nationality, paved a way for the chain of world Christian conferences which have succeeded. The action of the Edinburgh meeting in providing for its continuance through a committee which later evolved into the International Missionary Council created one of the earliest and most influential structures of the emerging World Christendom. Modest in form and authority—merely a "Council" with privilege of advice but without power of regulation—it has aimed at nothing less than coordination of the vast and varied enterprises of scores of Protestant Communion working in thousands of centers in a hundred lands into a unified world ministry to the whole of mankind. The Madras Conference was its latest concrete embodiment.

In the pre-War period, there were other Movements of lesser scope but possibly surer cohesion. They were mainly of three types. Some brought together churches of the same confessional family scattered throughout the world, *e.g.*, Methodists, Baptists, etc. Others, such as the World's Y. M. C. A., the World's Y. W. C. A., and the World's Student Christian Federation, united special types of Christian fellowships with branches in many countries. Still others were associations of individuals around a common interest, for example, world peace. None of them attempted to join great church structures across denominational lines.

As early as 1851, a great Pan-Anglican celebration prepared the way for the first Lambeth Conference sixteen years later. For over three quarters of a century and half a century respectively, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations have constituted World Alliances. The first World Sunday School Convention met in London in 1889. By 1891 each of the largest denominations—Lutherans, Anglicans, Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterian and Reformed, etc.—had created some form of world fellowship with periodic meetings. On the very eve of the World War, largely through Mr. Andrew Carnegie's generous confidence in the importance of Christians in the furthering of peace, the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was brought into being.

*iii*

For the influence which the judgment of history is likely to discover to have been the most important of all toward the creation of a worldwide Christendom we must turn, however, to a Movement far smaller numerically, less pretentious, and less widely known than several of those just mentioned. It is the World's Student Christian Federation. The Federation has served the Ecumenical Movement in a threefold capacity—as pioneer, as training-school of leaders, and in its own life as the fullest existing realization of united Christianity.

In 1895, John R. Mott, whose leadership spans the entire development from those earliest beginnings down to the present day and who has been present at almost every major step along the way, gathered together representatives of the five national student Christian movements then in existence and inspired them to launch upon the venture of permanent world organization. In the half century since, the Federation has grown to embrace student societies of about thirty lands. It has maintained regular offices and staff. Its General Com-



mittee has met about every two years except during the World War. It has preserved its fellowship unbroken through every stress and crisis, even the most divisive conflict in human history. By its experience much has been learned of the possibilities and limitations in world community, and especially of the circumstances under which such community can be both real and enduring. In one area after another of unsurveyed problems, it has pioneered a pathway by which other world Christian movements have subsequently advanced. Especially noteworthy has been its courage in probing the deeper issues which divide Christians, issues of theological conviction which some other ecumenical movements have been hesitant to tackle. Thus it has furnished a testing ground in the conditions of ecumenical cooperation. And not for Christian organizations only. One of the foremost leaders of the League of Nations gave it as his judgment that the most significant experimentation making possible a sound and stable community of nations had taken place within the World's Student Christian Federation.

From such pioneering have emerged not only guiding principles but also men schooled in those principles and, more important, habituated to the reality of interdenominational and interconfessional Christian fellowship. The Archbishop of York, chairman of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches and perhaps the most influential person in present steps toward a world Christendom, has testified that it was in conferences of the British Student Christian Movement and later of the World's Student Christian Federation that he first experienced the *reality* of ecumenical Christianity and became converted to its possibility. Many, probably most, of those who now lead the varied phases of this World Movement would echo his testimony.

In the Oxford Guildhall one morning during the con-

ference there in 1937, my eye chanced to run along the score or so of men from almost as many countries who stood together at its heart guiding its progress. William Temple, Bishop Azariah, John R. Mott, Hendrick Kraemer, J. H. Oldham, Francis Wei, H. S. Leiper, Visser 't Hooft, Adolf Keller, John Mackay, T. Z. Koo, Reinhold Niebuhr, Max Huber. How had it come about that each of these men had caught a vision of Christian unity in thought and action? Then a further fact about the group struck the observer. They were almost all old friends. How had they come thus to know one another so intimately? To be sure, latterly they had met often in connection with one or another of the church interests which they represented. But these friendships dated from young manhood. Suddenly, the answer flashed upon me. They had learned to know and believe in one another through a common devotion in student days. So it is in almost every world Christian gathering today. It is able to press forward largely because its leaders are old and trusted friends. It has been said that in the third and fourth centuries when the bishops of Christendom assembled in ecumenical conference, it was like a reunion of old school-fellows; almost all had been trained in the theological college of Alexandria. Today, when the leaders of Protestant Christendom come together, it is like a reunion of old school-fellows. The great majority have been trained within the fellowship of the World's Student Christian Federation.

Not only did the Federation pioneer early essays in Christian cooperation. Today its fellowship surpasses all others in depth and strength of ecumenical understanding and vitality. Before later movements had embarked on tentative ventures, the Federation had driven the reality of its community to firm foundations. Throughout the centrifugal convulsions of 1914-1918, more than any other world structure of any kind, it held its life unshattered. With the signing of peace, it was the first to be fully reunited and recon-

stituted. In the decades since, the bases of its common life have steadily deepened and strengthened. Today they are more profound and indestructible than ever before.

Thus Christian youth in the universities are laying essential and enduring foundations for the world Christendom of the future—by blazing trails toward its realization, by preparing its leadership, and by proving its possibility through the actualities of their own fellowship.

*iv*

These and other preliminary experiments in Christian co-operation preceded the Great War. Further notable advance followed the conflict, indeed as its direct outcome.

The War checked but did not stifle the general impulse toward world unity. Rather, its close released still greater centripetal forces, now more powerful than any since the disintegration of Græco-Roman civilization, into almost every aspect of humanity's life. The League of Nations with unmeasured promise for peace, stability and justice in the affairs of peoples reflected the trend and embodied well-nigh universal aspiration. In practically all lesser fields of human interest—in trade, in education, in culture, in science—the same development found expression, toward the overpassing of divisions and ancient barriers and in the direction of world-wide cooperation and organization. As late as 1932, *Re-Thinking Missions* could declare that one of the most notable facts in the then situation was the emergence of a world culture.<sup>1</sup>

In these hopes Christians fully shared. As in the pre-War

<sup>1</sup>As a matter of fact, in 1932 this was no longer true. Perhaps the most serious disqualification of the Laymen's Inquiry for its task was a virtually complete failure rightly to sense the altered drift in world affairs already apparent. All of its conclusions were posited upon the growth of cultural, economic and political unity which had even then begun to crack and shortly crumbled to dust. It is this fact which makes the Report appear today so sadly "dated."

period, action within the Churches paralleled the dominant tendencies in general culture. However, the greatly heightened efforts toward Christian unity were not merely or mainly by-products of the secular enthusiasm. Christian leadership emerged from the War aghast at its destruction and folly, chastened at the failure of Christian influences to prevent its advent or even notably to moderate its brutality, penitent at the sorry spectacle of the divided impotence of organized Christianity. Two concerns impelled them—realization that, if the hopes of men were not to shipwreck, the Churches must bring Christian conscience more effectively to bear upon the great social and international diseases; and recognition that Christianity could not pretend to heal mankind's conflicts until it should more drastically cure its own divisions and present to humanity a unity worthy of the "new day." Thus effort worked out in two complementary directions and issued in two new world Christian movements more comprehensive and more directly representative of all the churches than any since the ancient separation of Eastern and Western Christianity in the eleventh century.

Under the indomitable leadership of the Archbishop of Upsala, Nathan Söderblom, delegates from all the major communions of both the Orthodox and Protestant branches of Christendom came together at Stockholm in 1925—the first great post-War world assemblage of Christians. But the Conference was not content to meet, frame resolutions and adjourn. After the example of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, it entrusted the implementation of its decisions to a Continuation Committee. As with the earlier movement, this wise provision eventuated in the creation of a permanent structure, the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. We have already reported its aim—to link the constituent churches in united impact upon the intricate corporate problems of the society which envelops and conditions the life of Christians. To employ a term from psy-

chology, its perspective has been extrovert. According to the original plan, its second conference would have followed the first by just a decade. To bring it into proximity with the decennial meeting of Faith and Order, it was deferred by two years and assembled at Oxford in 1937.

At the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, one of the American delegates, Charles H. Brent, was fired with the vision of a united Church. He stirred the Episcopal Church in the United States and then the whole Anglican Communion to favor consultation toward that end. Largely through his persistent persuasion, representatives of much the same bodies which had met at Stockholm came together in Lausanne in 1927 in the first World Conference on Faith and Order. Here attention was turned inward. Concentrating upon the factors within and among the churches which impede fuller unity, an effort was made to devise a cautious but sure course which might ultimately lead to their resolution. The studies of the Conference were projected into the decade following its adjournment. It reassembled at Edinburgh in 1937.

While the many earlier interdenominational and international conferences and cooperative efforts had laid a groundwork of experience and aspiration, the structure of the present-day ecumenical movement began to rise in definite form from Stockholm and Lausanne. Both were constituted predominantly of officially designated delegates from the major churches—Lausanne altogether, Stockholm largely. Both resulted in permanent representative organizations. Most significant of all, both embraced nearly all of the Orthodox and Protestant Communions. Thus, for the first time in close to a thousand years, virtually the whole of organized Christendom (with the single but weighty exception of the Church of Rome<sup>2</sup>) was joining in council for

<sup>2</sup>In most of the ecumenical steps of recent years, a way has been sought to include Roman Catholicism. Rome has invariably declined

worthier and more effective discharge of common responsibilities. Through one Movement, a more powerful united influence upon the world was sought; through the other, more adequate internal union. Thus, by mutual self-examination and by common effort, the churches were preparing themselves for even larger embodiment and expression of a unity which has always been far greater in its spiritual reality than in its outward manifestation.

## v

Through the decade of 1927-1937, "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order" advanced upon parallel courses, but with ever closer consultation and cooperation. The ultimate unification of their complementary endeavors was logically inevitable. Its realization was speeded by insistent pressure from their most trusted leaders. They in turn were responding to a spreading and mounting demand for a single agency to speak and act for all non-Roman Christendom.

In those ten years, however, the climate of the world had radically altered. Centripetal tendencies which had been permeating every phase of human culture with growing power for half a century until they rose to climax in the hope of a World Society were overwhelmed by catastrophic centrifugal forces culminating in a second World War of more sanguine threat than its predecessor. In a half dozen fevered and tragic years the laborious gains of decades appeared more than lost. The very phrases, "world-peace," "world-culture," "world-unity," which had steeled men through the sufferings of conflict and inspired the labors of reconstruction seemed to echo dimly from the vocabulary of some archaic Utopia. As the Madras Conference stated,

active participation, although it has shown increasing friendliness. Roman churches offered prayers for the success of the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences, and many high dignitaries expressed regret that only "observers" attended from their Communion.

"The decade since last we met has witnessed the progressive rending of the fabric of humanity."

Yet, as was pointed out in the opening pages of this book, it is precisely this period of dissolution and disillusionment which has been marked by the most resolute and promising actions toward Christian unity since the Middle Ages. Madras could go on to declare, "That same decade has also witnessed an increasing unification of the body of Christ." In that contrast lies the promise of current steps toward the formation of a "World Council of Churches."

*vi*

Strictly speaking, the World Council stems directly from the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences of 1937. To be sure, the way had been prepared by informal meetings of the leaders of five principal world Christian organizations for several years preceding. The idea of a World Council had been favorably received by several of these bodies. But it was first formally proposed to the consideration of the churches through their delegates assembled at Oxford and Edinburgh by a representative Committee of Thirty-five which had drafted a tentative plan in advance. Its creation was authorized by the two Conferences. Into the Council when constituted both Conferences voted to fund the enterprises and resources of their respective Movements, Life and Work, and Faith and Order. The drafting of a constitution, its submission to the Christian Churches of the world, and the summoning of the World Council in initial session was entrusted to a Committee of Fourteen appointed from those Conferences. All interim arrangements including the full administration of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work now rests with a Provisional Committee of the World Council consisting of this Committee of Fourteen, their alternates and certain additional persons named by the two Movements.

It would be a great mistake, however, to regard the World

Council, either in the conception of its proposers or in the actual development of its reality, as merely a merger of these two Movements. From the very first, the work and interests of *all* world-wide Christian organizations have been fully in view. At every careful step along the way, leaders of all—the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, the International Missionary Council, the World's Student Christian Federation, the World's Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., the world associations of the various denominations—have participated in discussion and decisions. Leaders of all shared in the meeting at Utrecht in May, 1938, when the constitution was finally drafted.

The new Council will be charged with responsibility "to establish relations with denominational federations of world-wide scope and with other ecumenical movements." These fraternal organizations are to be invited to send consultative representatives to all meetings. Their most helpful relation to the Council and its work is constantly under consideration. However, the fullest coordination of all types of united Christian effort is assured less through formal arrangements than by the very large measure of understanding, and indeed overlapping, amongst the leadership of the various Movements. From this fact springs perhaps the greatest hope for steady advance toward a world Christendom in our time: those who are charged with guiding the many different approaches to Christian unity constitute in effect a single Corps of Strategy. Largely informal, their common vision is all the more authentic and effective because it is uncoerced and unsustained by official authority. It is hardly too much to say that the World Council and the complementary world-wide Movements with which it is so intimately related embody the highest wisdom of all non-Roman Christendom and claim single-purposed and confident support in their common labors for Christian unity.

In basis, structure and functions, the World Council of Churches now in process of formation is both simple and



unpretentious. Membership will be by national or confessional Churches "which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour." Many American Christians would have preferred the alteration of a single word in this basis of affiliation so that it would read "accept Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour." This change would bring it into fuller conformity with our customary phraseology; probably it will be proposed to the Council at its first session. It should be recalled, however, that the present formula merely continues the basis which has united the Faith and Order Movement since its inception and which has been regarded as satisfactory by all churches participating in that Movement. It has the merit of being brief, straightforward and thoroughly Christian. The Council is charged with the following functions:

1. To carry on the work of the two world movements for Faith and Order and for Life and Work.
2. To facilitate common action by the Churches.
3. To promote cooperation in study.
4. To promote the growth of ecumenical consciousness in the members of all Churches.
5. To establish relations with denominational federations of world-wide scope and with other ecumenical movements.
6. To call world conferences on specific subjects as occasion may require, such conferences being empowered to publish their own findings.

Apart from its responsibility to carry forward already existing work and "to take action on behalf of constituent Churches *in such matters as one or more of them may commit to it*," the authority of the Council is strictly limited to "offering counsel and providing opportunity of united action in matters of common interest." Indeed, it is specifically directed that "the World Council shall not legislate for the Churches; nor shall it act for them in any manner except as indicated above or as may hereafter be specified by the constituent Churches." These clearly defined functions are vested in a quinquennial Assembly of not over 450 members

carefully allocated amongst the Churches throughout the world, in an interim Central Committee of 90 to meet annually, and in a smaller Executive Committee, with appropriate secretariate. A novel and significant provision directs that "approximately one-third of the Assembly shall consist of lay persons both men and women." It is envisioned that much of the educational and constructive influence of the Council will be effected through Commissions of especially qualified persons drawn both from its membership and from beyond. Two such Commissions already functioning are carrying forward the study inquiries of Faith and Order and of Life and Work.

By such a modest structure and program, the Churches are feeling their way toward more adequate service to their world and, in their confident hope, toward fuller realization of their Lord's reported prayer "that they all may be one."

*vii*

To many, the present situation in world Christianity may seem a trifling and inadequate realization of Christian unity. The existing Ecumenical Movement focusing in the World Council of Churches may appear a sadly ineffective instrument for the implementation of the mind and will of a united Christendom.

For example, it may be suggested that these slow and painful essays toward closer cooperation and unity by Protestant and Orthodox bodies have actually thus far yielded a less close-knit structure than the Church of Rome has possessed all along. Such an observation would seriously misread the true situation. The Church of Rome exhibits the external marks of complete unity. Of all its members and leaders it demands a single allegiance to one central authority and the confession of a common fellowship within Holy Church. Actually, within that formal unity, there exist not only the greatest diversities but the most serious divisions and conflicts. Divisions and conflicts spring partly from doc-

trinal and ecclesiastical interests, partly from national loyalties. It will hardly be questioned that antagonisms of both types are today deeper and more bitter within Romanism than within Protestantism and Orthodoxy. In times of international conflict, the living community of spiritual fellowship between Catholics of warring nations is markedly less than that which is today being maintained with difficulty but resolution among Protestant Christians on both sides of the struggles in the Far East and in Europe. Again, if Catholic leaders were gathered from all parts of the world and every party of Catholicism in assemblages roughly comparable to Oxford or Edinburgh or Madras,<sup>3</sup> formal unity would be strikingly symbolized in common participation in the sacrament and united confession of a single obedience. However, no one who knows the realities of internal conditions within the great divisions of Christendom will doubt that the tensions and divisions would be greater than those which were confronted in any of the recent non-Roman ecumenical conferences. The fact that the latter are held together by no binding organizational ties or superior authority or even by uniform observance of the sacrament means that their cohesion springs solely from free and spontaneous recognition of profound spiritual kinship. It is so much the more impressive. There can be little question, I think, that the leadership of Orthodox and Protestant Christianity presents today a far more deeply and truly united conviction and strategy than that which characterizes any other world body. All of this is said in no disparagement of the amazing world scope and organization of the Church of Rome or its immense significance. Rome constitutes a world-wide structure of incalculable influence. Protestantism and Orthodoxy together constitute a World Community.

It is well to take the full measure of the limitations of

<sup>3</sup>The Roman Church does not have democratically representative assemblies.

World Christendom, especially of its effective sway upon the decisions of nations and the fate of the community of nations. With major conflicts raging on two continents and threatening to embroil three-fourths of the human race, the question is again pressed, "Why haven't the churches prevented war?" No responsible leader of the Church has any doubt of the answer to that query. He never lived under the illusion that, amidst the catastrophic forces which are now rending and decimating mankind's life, the churches could forestall the present conflicts. And for the principal reason that the Community which bears the name of Christ cannot and will not employ the measures and methods which have immediate power to determine national action in a world economy which is so largely delivered to the arbitrament of naked force.

To many it is a scandal that the world once more sees Christians pitted in death-dealing struggle against one another. It sees churches of opposed nations lending spiritual aid to their countries and, in some instances, even invoking a divine blessing upon their armed forces as warriors in a sacred crusade. This, also, the Church cannot yet prevent. There is an increasing number of Christians who hold it never justified to take part in armed conflict. But to the majority in the churches, clergy as well as laity, duty to nation appears as a rightful obligation upon a Christian if he is sincerely convinced that his country has no possible alternative to participation in war.

What, then, can the nascent World Christendom do in times like these? What in fact is it doing? Four things at least. It can seek to moderate the bitterness of conflict and alleviate its unspeakable suffering. It can maintain the bonds of living spiritual fellowship amongst Christians of contending nations across every chasm of misrepresentation, misunderstanding and enmity. It can prepare the way for just and enduring peace. Most important of all, in its own life

it can preserve and even enhance the reality of world community, thus rebuking efforts at its destruction and offering to all a living demonstration of its possibility for nations as well as for churches. These four things the World Council of Churches and its allied ecumenical Movements are actually accomplishing.

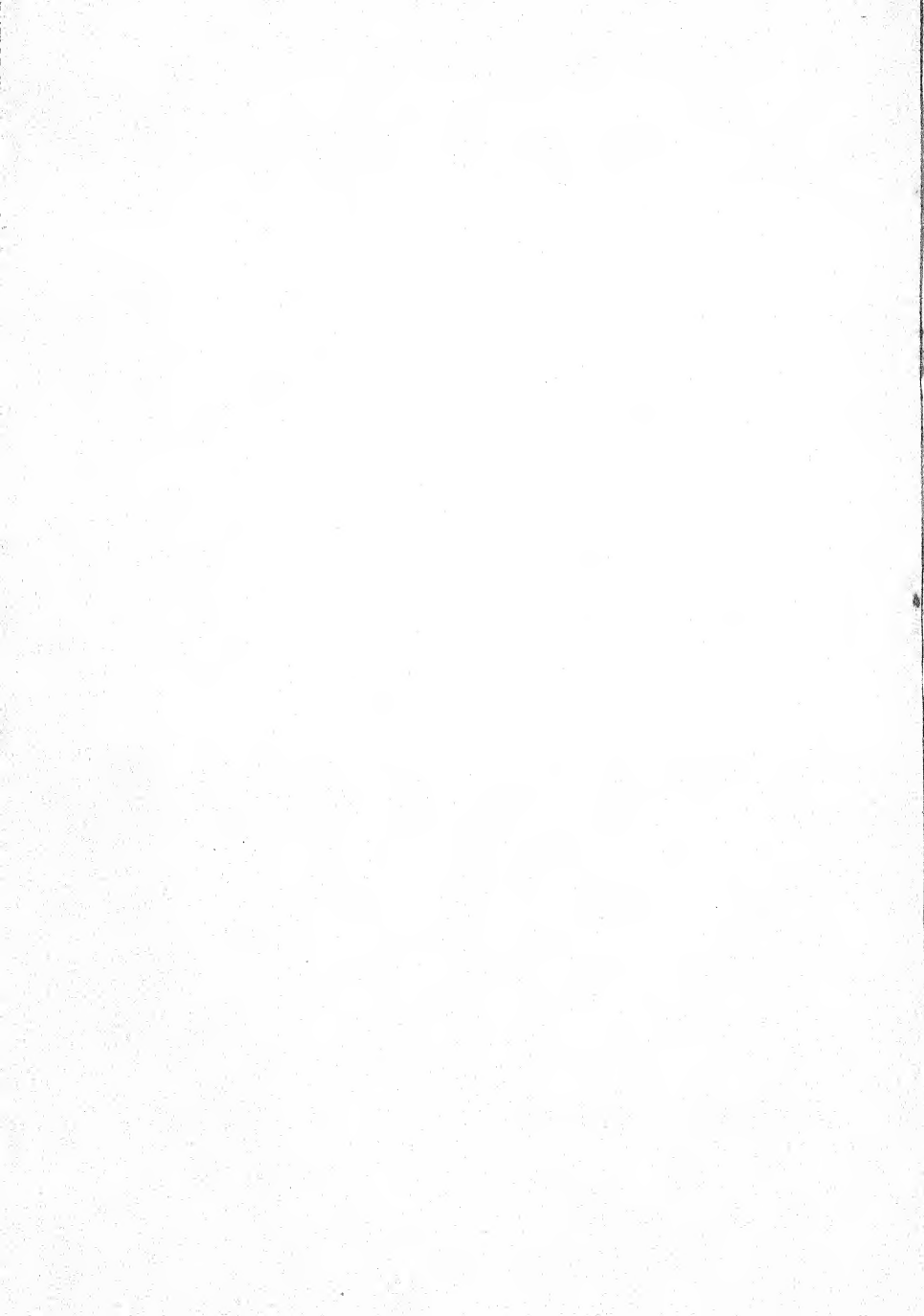
Once again, both in Asia and in Europe, Christians have been first to mobilize for relief and amelioration of victims of war's devastation, especially those like prisoners or peasants in captured territory who are beyond the assistance of their own governments. In these programs, all ecumenical organizations are pooling their united resources.

More than ever before in human history in time of war, Christians in enemy nations are today linked in living and significant fellowship with one another. This is occurring in what promise to be the most sanguine and bitter struggles of modern times when every device of controlled information, propaganda and ruthless discipline is directed to sever contacts and foster distrust. At the headquarters of the ecumenical Movements in Geneva, citizens of Germany, France, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland and the United States are joined in common effort in behalf of the whole company of Christians throughout the war-shattered world and in vigorous cooperation with Christian leaders of every country of Europe and Asia as well as Africa and the Americas. By difficult but effective communication through neutral countries according to careful plans developed before the European War broke, intercourse is being maintained. More than that, by the united employment of a common Service of Worship also prepared in advance and translated into half a dozen tongues, Christians of opposed belligerents are joining in prayer in identical words with and for one another and together for a true and lasting peace. The spiritual unity of the World Church is strained but unsevered.

Almost on the eve of the European War, the World Council brought together a small but carefully selected group of distinguished international lawyers, political scientists and economists from virtually every nation then engaged or about to become engaged, with a corresponding number of clergy, to counsel the churches as to what, if anything, could be done by them to halt the already alarming drift toward war and to work for the elimination of the causes of war. The report of that consultation issued by the Provisional Committee of the World Council under the title "The Churches and the International Crisis" has been hailed as perhaps the most incisive and important statement on these issues ever formulated by so authoritative a Christian body. Not the least valuable of its sections deals with "Tasks in Time of War." The work of this conference is being continued. For the duration of the war the ablest minds within the churches, lay and clerical, will be directed in common study of the bases of a just and enduring peace. Thus Christians will be advised by foremost authorities as to the measures which must be effected if a World Order is to achieve realization.

Finally, the significance of existing World Christendom should be judged less by comparison with an ideal which still lacks much of realization, than by comparison with other world forces and movements upon which men had relied to assure peace and bind the nations into unity. No one of those now remains in effective operation. Despite difficulties and tensions, incompleteness and very limited authority, World Christendom is today mankind's only great world community. As the Madras Conference declared:

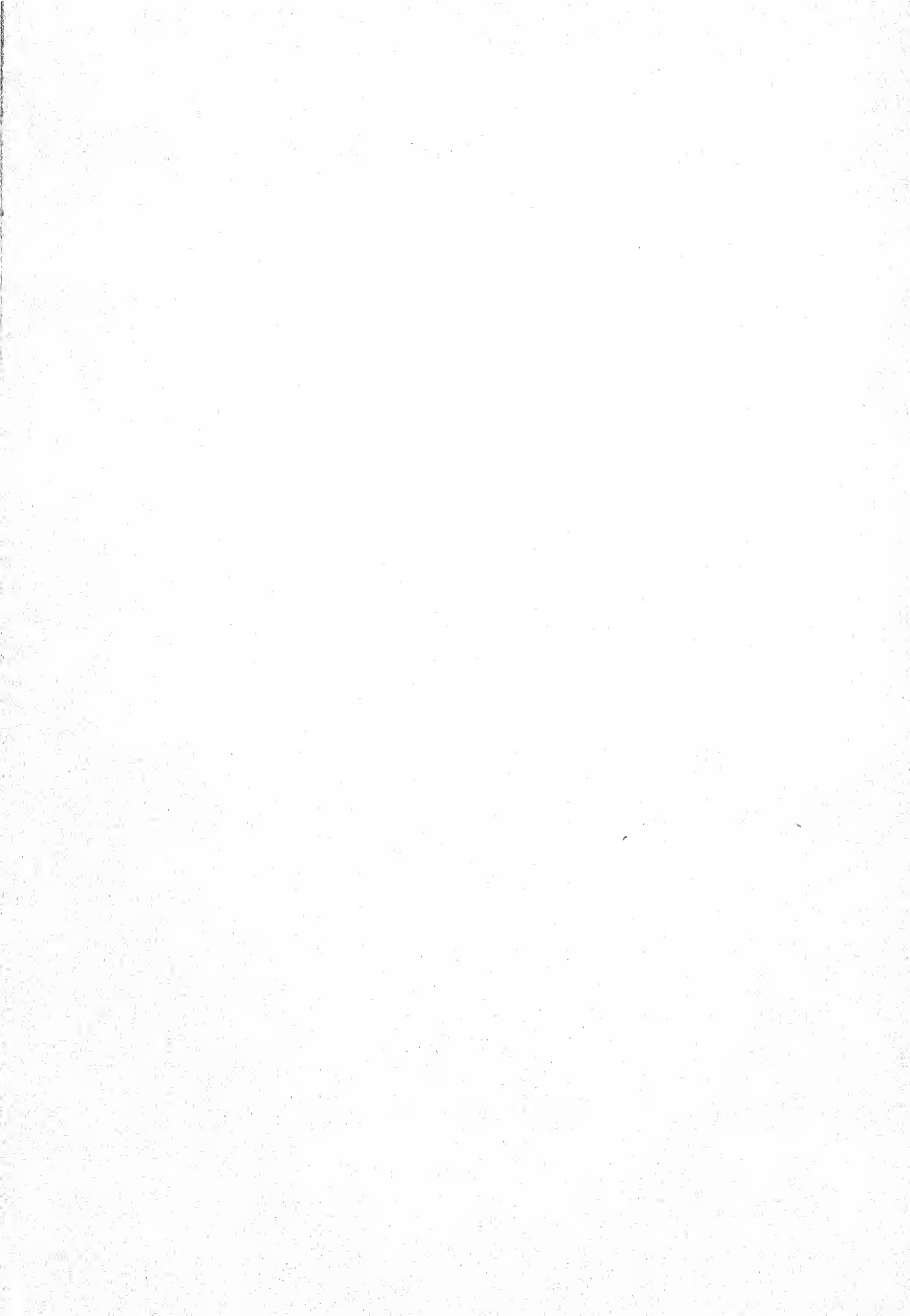
"Thus in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which He has purposed humanity to be."



*Part Three*

CONCLUSIONS





# *The Realities of the Christian Movement*

EIGHT MONTHS OF NEARLY CONTINUOUS travel amidst lands hitherto unknown inevitably leave as their deposit a wealth of impressions. Almost every day was crowded with observations of life and conditions and work, with conversations with people of diverse stations and viewpoints, with study of historic backgrounds and contemporary interpretations.

As far as those impressions concern the Christian Movement, they are first of all vivid eye-pictures of particular persons and situations and communities. So I have attempted to report them here.

That is as it should be. For Christianity is above everything else a movement of lives. It has been said that most of the other great world religions are philosophies seeking realization in experience, but Christianity is an inner certitude straining—and never with more than imperfect success—after convincing interpretation. It is of Christianity's essential genius that it is not primarily a theology or an institution but a living faith whose residence is within the souls of individuals and groups. Its vindication is in the manifest transformation of their beings.

Christianity began in a Life. It rests its supreme and final confidence upon the truth and beauty and reality embraced within that Life. To commend its faith to others, its only greatly persuasive apologetic is—human lives. No other apol-

ogetic would be fully convincing. That apologetic is ultimately irresistible. Indeed, that it is ultimately irresistible and therefore victorious is the crucial assurance, the final hazard of Christian faith. When we have sought to portray the Christian Movement in a series of instances of what in human lives it has done and is, we have been faithful to its deepest nature. There is its only important vindication.

However, those individual pictures are not unconnected. They weave their common elements into certain general conclusions. We returned with a wealth of impressions, but not a welter of impressions. One recalls the caricature of the typical globe-trotter who sinks with exhausted relief into his arm-chair at home, struggling to recall whether the Taj Mahal is in Bombay or Budapest or Bima, and whether it was in Chile or in China or in Czechoslovakia that he mislaid his favorite pipe. On the contrary, our conclusions stand forth with surprising clarity and definiteness of outline. Some bear on social and international matters—apprehensions which have already been all too fully vindicated in the developments of more recent months. Others concern the Christian Movement specifically; it is these only which will be recorded here.

I spoke earlier of preconceptions and misgivings which were vividly present to our consciousness as we set off. There was first of all the very widespread suspicion:

That the Christian Movement is so linked with Western economic and political penetration as to be in effect an ally of Western Imperialism.

Then, there were certain more specific assumptions known to be widely prevalent in popular belief:

That the Christian Movement is working principally in countries of ancient culture and mature religion like Japan, China, India—countries well able to care for their own peoples.

That its work is preponderantly evangelistic in a rather narrow sense.

That its influence is confined mainly to the small fractions of populations which have been brought into the Christian Church.

That its main success has been amongst depressed groups, but that it has claimed very, very few national leaders of ability and influence.

That its directors, the foreign missionaries, are men and women of earnest purpose but of very limited perspectives and effectiveness.

That its significance is largely limited to spiritual helpfulness to individuals, but that its importance for the life of nations or of mankind is negligible.

Lastly, behind and beneath all other doubts was the most basic query of all:

Whether Christian faith is not fundamentally a religion of and for the West, unsuited to the peoples of the Orient, of Africa, of primitive culture.

In this brief summary one can hope to canvass only the most important conclusions. The observations which follow will be almost entirely confined to those aspects of the Christian Movement which came before me as corrections or discoveries. Behind each lies what I think to be a fairly widespread misgiving or misapprehension. I shall speak of eight.<sup>1</sup>

ii

1. *The Manner in which Christianity has come to the Lands of the East.* In this topic is involved the much-discussed question of the relation of Christian missions to Western economic and political penetration.

Here history shows no simple or uniform pattern. But the overwhelming weight of its evidence is inescapable.

To a traveller on his first visit to the Orient no impression is more arresting than the dominance of the West in the East. It

<sup>1</sup>It will be noted that these eight conclusions correspond closely but not precisely to the misgivings, assumptions and queries just listed.

is a dominance which touches every aspect of Eastern life—political, economic, cultural. In both extent and grip it is likely to be discovered far more pervasive than one had anticipated. Upon more careful reflection, however, that initial and overarching impression is immediately corrected by a qualification which is no less striking and hardly less important. Western influence has penetrated the East through three sharply distinguished and often contrasted channels. Western influence remains in the East today in three sharply distinguished and often opposed forms—those of government, of business, and of missions.

Often the chronological sequence in the advent of these three influences has been the reverse of that just given. Not until the history is carefully examined is one likely to realize how often Christian missionaries were the first representatives of Western nations to come among primitive or non-Christian peoples—the English Methodists on Fiji, John G. Paton in the New Hebrides, Samuel Marsden among the Maori of New Zealand, Lawes and Chalmers in New Guinea, David Livingstone in Central Africa. They came, characteristically, with their Bible, their books, their printing press, their medical kit, their faith, and a firm resolution to give themselves wholly and until death to the peoples amongst whom they settled. They came without dependence upon the comforts of Western civilization or the protection of Western government. To be sure, they had been preceded by mariner explorers and sometimes by roving adventurers in quest of booty who had touched the seacoasts. Very often exploration of the hinterland was the work of the missionaries themselves. Only later were they followed by representatives of Western enterprise—first, itinerant traders stopping for brief stays to bargain with native peoples for their treasures or to seize their persons, and bearing these away to the huge profits of Western markets; then, merchants establishing semi-permanent centers of exchange; finally, in more recent times, Big Busi-

ness taking control of the natural resources and arteries of trade for wholesale exploitation.<sup>2</sup> Lastly came Western governments, sometimes at the behest of traders and merchants for the support of their commercial interests, but not infrequently in response to earnest persuasion by the missionaries in defense of the native peoples. For it is not widely known how often the intervention of Western government had become the only possible protection for these peoples against ruthless despoilment and sometimes annihilation at the hands of Western business.

There was Samuel Marsden, who fitted out a ship at his own expense, and "in spite of the opposition of the [British] Government" in New South Wales, began Christian work in New Zealand, later aided by the sympathetic support of a Maori chieftain "whom he had befriended on finding him a victim of unscrupulous white traders." Unfortunately "demoralization crept in through white traders whose actions could not be controlled." The Church Missionary Society of the Church of England which "had been opposed to the assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain, believing it to be 'a violation of the fundamental principles of international law,'" finally saw no alternative, "in view of the growth of the existing evils," to reluctant acquiescence when Britain later sent an official representative to negotiate annexation.<sup>3</sup>

There was William Carey, directing an amazing fertility

<sup>2</sup>How widespread is misapprehension as to this sequence may be illustrated by this statement in *Re-Thinking Missions*, p. 10: "The Protestant missionary of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries followed in the wake of trade." Far more accurate is the comment in a history of missionary work in the Fiji Islands: "It has been said that trade follows the flag, and it has been truly added that the flag follows the missionary."

<sup>3</sup>The history is briefly summarized in W. Allen Young, *Christianity and Civilization in the South Pacific*. Young's quotations are from the *Life and Work of Samuel Marsden*, pp. 64-68, 90-95, and *British Parliamentary Papers. Report of New Zealand, 1840*, No. 582, pp. 80-83.

and energy to the initiation of a dozen diverse enterprises for the scientific, educational and spiritual enrichment of India. But Carey established his manifold work at Serampore against the determined obstruction of the British East India Company with the British Government behind it. He was forced to seek the protection and patronage of the Danish crown.

There was Adoniram Judson, driven from India, the land of his interest and dedication, by the British East India Company and finding refuge in Burma, where he left a rich legacy of cultural and religious contribution to the life of that country.

Not unrepresentative was the experience of John G. Paton. In 1858, Paton with his bride and a fellow-missionary couple took up residence among peculiarly fierce cannibals on one of the New Hebrides islands. The following year, his wife died in childbirth and shortly afterward their baby. Three years later, his fellow-missionaries passed away within a few months of each other. For ten years he labored amidst almost superhuman difficulties and dangers from fever, drought and repeated threats from the natives. His escapes make up a well-nigh miraculous chronicle.<sup>4</sup> His most harassing handicaps, however, came from another source. "The prejudices and persecutions of the heathen were a sore enough trial, but sorer and more hopeless was the wicked and contaminating influence of, alas, my fellow-countrymen." One of them, "a trader living with a native woman at the head of the bay, a dissipated wretch, though a well-educated man, was angry at the state of peace which was beginning." Accordingly, this trader supplied the native tribes with arms and ammunition and then egged them into war.

At another time when the missionary group was in special peril from native attack, Paton left letters at the harbor "to be given to the captains of any vessels which called telling

<sup>4</sup>Recorded in inimitable style by Paton himself in *The Story of John G. Paton*.

them of our great danger, and that I would reward them handsomely if they would remove any of us who might be spared; but they took no further notice of my appeals and sailed past. . . . The next morning a vessel was seen in the offing. The captain had been at the harbour, and had received my letter. I hoisted a flag to induce him to send or come on shore, but he sailed off."

The climactic incident came when Paton had achieved real progress in winning the confidence of his Hebridean neighbors and had laid the groundwork for solid educational work. A fleet of trading vessels anchored in his harbor and put ashore seamen ill with measles with the purpose of spreading the infection among the natives. A young chieftain was induced to board one of the ships where he was confined in the hold with men wracked by the disease. "I am ashamed to say that these traders were our own degraded countrymen; and that they deliberately gloried in thus destroying the heathen. My remonstrances only called forth the shameless declaration, 'Our watchword is—Sweep these creatures away and let white men occupy the soil.' The measles, thus introduced, became amongst our islanders the most deadly plague. It spread fearfully and was accompanied by sore throat and diarrhoea. . . . This dreadful epidemic blasted all our dreams."

One hears much of missions as the vanguard and ally of Western imperialism and finance. History shows missionaries and merchants more typically at loggerheads, contending for the support of government in behalf of their respective interests in the native peoples—on the one hand, for their education, civilization and cultural advance; on the other hand, for their exploitation and cultural subservience.

Generalization on so complex a development over so vast a territory and in such diverse circumstances would need many qualifications. But one cannot evade the impression



that the influence of missions has been, by and large, overwhelmingly for the solid good of the peoples of the East; that the influence of Western government has been ambiguous with the balance possibly falling toward a favorable account; but that the influence of business, with due and important allowance for the material advance which has been its accompaniment, has on the whole been detrimental.<sup>5</sup>

Nor is all this merely a matter of history. All through the East today one meets three types of Westerners—business agents, government representatives, Christian missionaries. Personal relations amongst the groups are often extremely cordial. In the large cities, they meet in the foreign associations; in remote communities, they are drawn together by a common exile from homeland; in great relief and philan-

<sup>5</sup>This judgment must not be confused with the contention that it was undesirable that Eastern and primitive peoples should have been brought into contact with Western civilization. The ultimate infiltration into the East of the scientific and material achievements of modern culture was both inevitable and desirable. What is here decried is the manner of that penetration—a penetration governed *solely* by the economic interests of Western commercial exploiters. If it had come slowly as Eastern peoples were gradually prepared to receive it and, much more important, if it had come on the initiative and under the direction of the leaders of these peoples themselves it would have been far healthier. There are partial illustrations of what this might have meant. For example, Siam, a country of limited territory and resources undeluded by the megalomania of empire, has availed itself freely of foreign advisers and foreign enterprisers but has succeeded more than most of its neighbors in preserving basic economic as well as political control in its own hands. Old World in atmosphere and customs, Siam is efficient and modern in most matters which count. Here is a nation which appears to have absorbed much of the best from the New World without serious perversion of its own inherent culture. Had a similar development prevailed elsewhere, years might have been consumed by what has been accomplished in months. But it is of the very genius of the East to move deliberately. The final outcome of such a slow and natural process of modernization might have saved the East from some of its gravest contemporary difficulties and the whole world from impending problems the gravity and ultimate toll of which no prophet can foretell.

thropic undertakings, they labor shoulder to shoulder. Yet they often appear to have meager vital contact with each other and little in common. On ships and railways, two of the groups travel First Class where they associate predominantly with fellow-Westerners; the other almost unfailingly travel Second or Third Class where they mingle with the peoples of the East. Upon these peoples, the three groups of Westerners make contrasted when not antipodal impressions.

Certainly today Western business—through the almost universal though often unconscious assumption of “white supremacy,” through the commercial motivation of its operations, frequently through the ethics of its practices, sometimes through the morals of its representatives, through its pressure upon government policy, through its wholesale importation of alien labor for purposes of economic exploitation—is piling up problems of incalculable magnitude for the future. I spoke of the new moral difficulties brought upon the Fijian people in recent years as by-products of the introduction of “Western civilization.” Fiji illustrates also one particular problem which is widely prevalent and of gravest portent—the introduction into the Fiji Islands as common laborers of great numbers of low caste East Indians. Here is a population of 100,000 Melanesians who through a hundred years of careful and untiring tutelage have been aided to a high level of intellectual, cultural and spiritual promise. Into their midst are brought hordes of people of foreign race and tradition, of incomparably lower educational achievement and ideals, of alien religion with radically different conceptions of womanhood, parentage and morals, and of such fecundity that within a very few years they will outnumber the native population. What problems are implicit in that situation! Yet that is representative of what is taking place all over Asia and Africa and the islands of the Pacific wherever native labor is too few or unwilling to discharge the menial tasks required by economic exploitation. Here is a single offense

perpetrated by Western enterprise for which no amount of adventitious economic advantage to the native peoples can possibly atone.

The whole situation stands forth in sharp relief in the midst of the present Far Eastern struggle. All over China today a single question is pressed upon the American visitor by government officials, by cultural leaders, by university students, by the man on the street—quietly and courteously but insistently: “The people of the United States have repeatedly professed their peculiar friendship for the Chinese, are linked to China by treaty obligations, and are said to be almost unanimously sympathetic with China in her present struggle of defense. How do you explain the fact that the American Government has made hardly a move in support of its pledged friendship for China, and that American merchants are supplying Japan with over 50% of the imported raw materials which are indispensable for her ruthless aggression?” To which query, only one reply is possible, “You must distinguish sharply between American business, the American Government and the finest elements among the American people. American business, after the practice of business the world over, will seek profits wherever they may be had. The American Government, like every other great Power, determines its policy in crucial matters solely by national self-interest. But the attitude of the American people, or rather of the finest elements among them, must be judged by the Christian institutions which they are sustaining in China and by their gifts of money and concern and life for China’s relief in this time of national need.”

In the interior court of a small compound in Peiping, I met with a little group of Chinese university students who are enabled to continue their education through funds contributed by college students in America.<sup>6</sup> Even in the security of

<sup>6</sup>Through the Far Eastern Student Service Fund. In the first two years of the present Sino-Japanese war, this Fund raised \$45,000 from

that retreat they hardly dared speak. Finally one of them broke the silence in stumbling English. It was obvious from the nods of his companions that he was voicing their thoughts. "Please take the students of America our heartfelt thanks. In our circumstances here we are shut off from all contact with friends, even our countrymen in Free China. We had thought that there were no peoples outside concerned for China. Their gifts are our only proof that there are friends who care."

In Shanghai, an American representative of one of our largest oil concerns and an American missionary, friends who had been associated for many years in civic enterprises, were discussing the Far Eastern struggle. The missionary inquired, "How do you reconcile the fact that you have spent your whole life making friends with the Chinese people and seeking to establish the finest business relations with them with the fact that you are now working your head off to sell this same oil to the Japanese military to be used to fuel Japanese planes in the bombing of China's women and children?" To which the businessman replied sadly, "Oh, you know we'd sell to the Devil himself if he'd pay cash."

### *iii*

#### *2. The Conditions and Needs amidst which the Christian Movement is carrying on its Work.*

Many people have their ideas of missions formed from what they know of China, India and Japan—lands of ancient and advanced culture with their own mature and deeply rooted religions. They imagine missionaries at work in these countries which they conceive to have already absorbed the best of modern civilization and to be well able to care for their own peoples.

American students and their friends for the assistance of needy students in China and for the furtherance of reconciliation between students of China and Japan.

Here is one place where I think *Re-Thinking Missions*, all unwittingly, conveyed a rather false impression. Indeed, I suspect the Laymen themselves were led somewhat astray. Their Inquiry was confined entirely to India (with Burma), China and Japan. Within those countries, the Appraisal Commission visited mainly the larger and more advanced centers of population.<sup>7</sup> In brief, their conclusions were based almost entirely upon the Christian Movement where it is working in contact with non-Christian culture, civilization and religion at their very highest. The Laymen stated clearly the limited scope of their observations. But their report bore the title *Re-Thinking Missions* and many readers naturally assumed it to be a dependable portrait of the missionary enterprise *in its entirety*.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. Without judging as to the relative importance of work among advanced or primitive peoples, where stark human need is at a minimum or at a maximum, it is patent that generalizations based upon the Christian Mission in one particular type of setting—a setting least obviously needful of its aid—cannot truly represent the Mission in its length and breadth. On the other hand, to see missions at work in situations of greatest need is to have valuable light cast upon their relevance under circumstances of lesser shadow. It is when a human life hangs on the success of a doctor's skill that we really appreciate the value of routine medicine. It is when we confront the great exaltations and crises of life that we rightly recognize the importance of day-by-day faith. It is as we see Christianity at work among the most underprivileged, neglected, outcast

<sup>7</sup>In *Re-Thinking Missions* occurs this astounding statement: "Several members (of the Commission of Appraisal) went as far west as Hankow." (p. xii.) Hankow is really still east central China, 300 miles from the coast but 1000 miles from the western frontier. One who had not visited the more remote and less developed areas could hardly form a rounded picture of China or a sound estimate of the need for Christian work.

peoples that we discern in true perspective its meaning for all men.

By happy accident, our itinerary took us first amongst the islands of the Pacific, especially the outer islands of the Netherlands Indies. As has been recorded above, for the better part of a month we sailed in and out among them under nearly ideal circumstances—delightful accommodations on comfortable little Dutch freighters, a leisurely schedule, frequent and lengthy stops at tiny island ports where we were free to wander ashore or drive into the hinterland, nightly returns to the pleasant and enlightening companionship of a small and constantly changing company of fellow-travellers—government officials, naturalists, Catholic and Protestant missionaries, but no other tourists. On our trips ashore we mingled with the native peoples in their crowded market-places, or wandered among their thatched villages, or drove hour after hour through countryside and forest and jungle, or poked inquisitive but not unwelcome noses into their little shops, or visited in their homes through the open sesame of a missionary's friendship, or conversed with them through man's earliest and still effective language of hands and face. Thus we won some insight into the ways and the inner life and thought of primitive peoples. We learned at first-hand what it lies within their possibilities—through wise teaching, healing, friendship, and spiritual contagion—to become. In this setting, we had our first introductions to Christian missions. Oases of cleanliness, health, education, purity, freedom from superstition, the rudiments of culture, reverence and fellowship amidst surrounding filth, fear, degradation and conflict, we discovered them to be. A hackneyed metaphor but the one which comes compellingly to thought.

In two or three pictures I have tried to give some fragmentary impressions of that life and of the work of the Christian Church amidst it. They must be taken merely as representative. All have been drawn from a single corner of the world

and a very small one. Not only in the Dutch East Indies with its 60,000,000 Malaysians but all through inner Asia, straight across the Middle East, in practically the whole of the interior of the vast continent of Africa and much of its littoral, in certain sections of Latin America, widely amongst the islands of the seas, not to speak of remoter areas in China, Siam, Burma, India and the Near East, there are this day millions upon millions, hundreds of millions, of men and women and children whose lives are invariably shadowed by disease without healing, by ignorance without enlightenment, by gnawing dread without faith, and who will have none of those things which we regard as the basic necessities of existence unless and until the Christian Church brings them thither.

Make no mistake. While governments, whether national or colonial, are doing something here and there for sanitation, for education, for culture, they are not beginning to scratch the surface of the problem.<sup>8</sup> There are vast areas, even within their responsibility and administration, where they are not making a significant move to relieve the most elementary human wants of the peoples under their charge. These areas are at once the most difficult and dangerous, and the most desperately needy. If there are those who think that the advance of civilized government, native or foreign, is dispensing with the need for the labors of the Christian Mission, that idea should be scrapped as another of the gross illusions which mislead people's judgment regarding missions. *For unnumbered millions of our humanity there is no slightest hope of release from disease, ignorance, superstition save in the coming of Christianity amongst them.*

Anywhere on our earth's surface today, go out to the last

<sup>8</sup>However, special note should be made of the fact that certain of the colonial administrations, for example the British and Dutch, entrust responsibility for education and medical relief to the missions and subsidize those aspects of their work. Without government subvention it would not be possible for missions in these areas to carry forward their humanitarian programs.

outpost of civilization—to the last doctor who is engaged in the private practice of medicine, to the last government school, to the last regular station of the great scientific and research foundations, to the last institution of general philanthropy. Then, from that frontier, go on—on out into the wilderness or the jungle. Ultimately you may come upon a little grass-grown clearing, usually with its three buildings—a hospital, a school, a church; always in its fourfold ministry to human life—to health of body through medicine, to emancipation of mind through education, to general social and community advance, and to redemption of spirit through faith. *The Christian Movement is the only world-wide agency for the amelioration of basic human need and the furnishing of the essentials for true living to all mankind.*

As we were about to leave the Netherlands Indies, the young Dutch layman whose responsibility it is to give general oversight to the whole of the Protestant work in that area—that is to say, most of the medicine, education, social service and religion for perhaps half the population of 60,000,000 people—asked me whether one or more of the American missionary societies might not be able to come over and lend assistance. The Christian resources of the little kingdom of Holland are quite inadequate for so gigantic a task as service to these primitive millions. And men say that the need for Christian missions is nearly over! The truth is, that work has hardly begun.

Nevertheless, we would conceive the rôle of the Christian Movement in quite false perspective if we think of it solely or mainly in terms of backward peoples. Indeed, the needs in lands “of ancient and advanced culture with their own mature and deeply rooted religions,” while less patently conspicuous, are in many ways more impressive just because they are less expected.

Take medical need in India or China. In the whole of



China with its four hundred and fifty millions, there is one foremost center for advanced medical research and instruction. The Peiping Union Medical College itself is an outgrowth and consolidation of a number of pioneer missionary projects. It is still strongly influenced and guided by its original inspiration though now directed by the China Medical Board which was partially endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation. But it is the three hundred individual mission hospitals, some of them small centers struggling with meager equipment and resources but scattered widely through the length and breadth of China's eighteen provinces, which are actually bringing the relief and the prevention of modern medicine to China's millions.

A short distance from the city of Chengtu in Szechwan Province, I saw what struck me as the most hopeful single experiment under government auspices in the whole of China. It was a "Demonstration Hsien (*i.e.*, county)," one of five which had been set up before this war in the National Government's program for rural reconstruction; three of the five have unhappily fallen into Japanese hands and their work largely negated. Every aspect of the life of the county is organized and supervised—land survey and tenure, census, agriculture and stock raising, schooling, opium-control, political education and patriotism. In a year and a half, agricultural productivity has been increased over 30 per cent. A corps of supervisors keeps the county administration in daily intimate communication with every one of its 27,000 families. At the county-seat a small courtyard houses a makeshift and ill-equipped "hospital" of perhaps a dozen beds, and there are four district "dispensaries" with even more inadequate facilities. These provide the total medical service for 156,000 citizens of the hsien. The able and energetic young Magistrate confessed ruefully that the public-health program was the least developed feature of the entire scheme; competently trained doctors and nurses with adequate resources

are simply not available. In the city of Greater New York, there is one doctor among every five hundred of the population. In a certain Chinese province there is one doctor with modern education for every million people.

Take another illustration which obtains clear round the world—Christian education for women. I have tried to suggest something of its significance in Japan, in Korea, in India. Here is one instance of the dependence of the next generation, and the next, upon the continued advance of the Christian Mission.

Behind these patent and tangible needs which make their immediate appeal to our practical interest, there is always the subtler yet far profounder yearning of the human spirit for understanding of human existence, for ideals which shall guide and loyalties which shall command, for inner strength to live worthily under every circumstance, for sustaining and challenging human comradeships, for assurance and realization of Divine Concern, for faith which overcomes. There is the need, unaltered by change in outward condition and essentially the same in every culture, for "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God made known in the face of Jesus Christ."

*iv*

3. *The actual Character of the Work being carried on by the Christian Movement.*

It is perhaps only a slightly exaggerated caricature of the conception of missions which lies in the mind of the average American to picture a well-intentioned but uninspired missionary under a palm tree preaching his Gospel to half-naked savages. At least it is widely supposed that the predominant work of missions is evangelistic in a particular and rather narrow meaning of that term—the holding of religious services for the sole purpose of winning the auditors to Christian allegiance. And that such medical or educational or

agricultural or social projects as missions carry on are distinctly secondary and justified only as they contribute directly to Christian conversion.

To be sure, this was hardly my own impression. Nevertheless, there is no other point where my preconceptions had to suffer such radical reconstruction. The typical Christian mission is not a church (or the shade of a palm tree as improvised substitute) in which a solitary preacher exhorts simple native-folk to turn from their habitual superstitions and rites to worship the Christian God. As I have more than once indicated, the typical mission is a center of three or four buildings—hospital, school, church—from which a team of co-workers with varied gifts and equipment—minister, doctor, teacher, nurse, social worker, agriculturalist—go forth into the community and its environs in multiform but unified service to all who will accept their help.

By no means is this to suggest that alongside each church building is located a hospital; as with us, a single hospital or dispensary may serve a community or locality ministered to by several churches. But it is prevailingly true that each church is in effective reach of a medical center. Indeed, Christian hospitals and dispensaries each year minister to patients to the number of two-thirds the total persons who are actively affiliated with churches. Likewise we are not to imagine quite literalistically that every single church is flanked by a school building and vice versa. It is a striking fact, however, that the inclusive figures for all Protestant missions throughout the world show 55,395 churches and 55,081 schools. If kindergartens, colleges, medical, teacher-training and theological schools are included, the latter figure is 56,891. The total of ordained ministers both native and foreign is 45,000 while native and foreign teachers number close to 120,000; doctors and nurses at work in the 3443 hospitals and dispensaries come to almost exactly 20,000.<sup>9</sup> The sum of the matter is—

<sup>9</sup>For further statistics, see p. 176.

the Christian ministry to the bodies and minds of men is as integral a part of the service of the Christian Movement overseas as is the direct ministry to men's spirits.

One cannot evade the impression that this fact has far-reaching consequences not merely for the influence of Christian missions but also for the health of the workers and the soundness of their work. In great areas of the field, the obstacles to the maintenance of a balanced and wholesome outlook and emphasis would seem almost insuperable, the influences making for morbidity, abnormality, unhealthiness of mind and spirit almost irresistible. Many missionaries labor year in and year out in comparative solitude, difficult health conditions, isolation from news and social associations, deprivation of normal family life, even celibacy. These factors are not without their effect here and there. But, generally speaking, those who have separated themselves from the sustenance and satisfactions of life at home to merge their entire existence with that of strange peoples strike one as extraordinarily healthy and normal in mind and body and spirit.

Far more significant than the soundness of the personalities of the workers is the health and wholeness of their work. Again despite most trying difficulties and myriad influences to the contrary, the life of the Christian churches overseas appears, by and large, more normal, balanced and positive than that of the churches at home. In part that is due to the fact that most of them are young with the vigor and untarnished vision of a new consecration still strong within them. In part it is due, paradoxically, to their relative poverty in equipment and resources; they know little of top-heavy plants and large endowments with their tethering demoralization upon the spontaneous and self-reliant life of the spirit. In large measure, it is due to the fact that they are still predominantly *missionary* churches with the demand heavy upon them for that reality of life without which effective evangelism cannot issue from them, but also with the replenishment and enlarge-

## A PAGE OF FIGURES

### GENERAL STATISTICS

Total population of the world*	1,849,185,000
Total Christians both Catholic and Protestant*	682,400,000
Total population in "mission fields" (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Islands of the Pacific*)	1,377,000,000
Total, Christians both Catholic and Protestant in these lands	32,569,920

### PROTESTANT MISSIONS

The following figures are for 1937 and are taken from the *Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church* compiled in preparation for the World Missionary Conference at Madras in 1938.

Total number of Protestant Missions Centers	6,172
Total number of Churches	55,395
Total number of Schools, Colleges, Training Institutions	56,891
Total number of Hospitals and Dispensaries	3,443
Total, Church Members	6,045,726
Total, Baptized but not Church Members	4,925,340
Others under Christian Instruction	2,065,288
Total, in active relation with Church	13,036,354
Total, Pupils in Schools, Colleges, etc.	3,263,985
Total, Patients in Hospitals and Dispensaries	8,969,635
Total, In-Patient Days in Hospitals	9,227,809
Total, Operations in Hospitals	348,210
Total, Treatments in Dispensaries	18,727,813
Total, Ordained Ministers, native and foreign	25,375
Total, Teachers, native†	100,886
Total, Medical Staff, native and foreign	19,539
Total, other workers, native and foreign	96,841
Grand Total, native and foreign workers	242,641

\*Approximate.

†Because many foreign teachers are also engaged in other forms of work, it is not possible to give their precise number.

To complete the picture of the Christian Movement by including

ment of vitality which result unfailingly from continuous outgoing from self and self-concern. Health and normality and vigor are due also and in no small measure, I am convinced, to the rounded wholeness of the work and message of the Christian Church. It is a far sounder church to whose worship there comes the community physician fresh from his exacting responsibilities in the healing of men's bodies, and the community educator held by his vocation to the most rigorous standards of intellectual integrity. It is a far sounder hospital to which the physician returns from the purification and challenge and inspiration of common worship; it is a sounder school whose director recognizes his task to be one part of the total equipping of the whole life of youth for the full gamut of life's problems.

From time to time secondary motives may have persuaded unconvinced missionaries of the value of educational or medical service. The major motive—the profound conviction that the Father of mankind made known in the faith of Jesus Christ is the God of men's bodies and minds as well as of their spirits, that He may speak to them through every aspect of their beings, and that He desires each aspect to be in health and in true relation to Himself and His purpose for them—that faith is the very core of Christianity's message to the world. The comprehensiveness of the Christian Mission's approach to the lives of all men has been abundantly justified in the outcome.

It must not be inferred that the three major aspects of the Christian Mission's ministry—health, education, worship—are Roman Catholic work, the above figures may be roughly doubled. With important exceptions in certain brackets, the figures for Protestant and Roman Catholic work run amazingly parallel. For example, Catholics report 55,122 churches, Protestants, 55,395. The number of hospitals and dispensaries of the two great branches of missionary Christendom is, by a strange coincidence, identical—3,443.

*Note:* For checking and correcting these figures, I am indebted to Mr. J. I. Parker, Director of the *Interpretative Statistical Survey*.

merely complementary enterprises moving on parallel and independent lines. We have usually spoken of "hospital, school, church." The order is not one of descending importance; on the contrary, it is climactic. We may characterize it as the "order of discovery." Philosophy knows the distinction between *ordo cognoscendi* and *ordo essendi*—the sequence by which men come to discover the reality of anything *and* the order of its true being. A scientist may observe a fact in external nature. From that fact, his inquiry pierces back to the fundamental elements or constituents which make up the phenomenon; then to the laws which control its operation; then to the eternal and immaterial conditions or principles in the very nature of things which alone make it possible. Finally, if he pursue his inquiry to its end, he may come to the recognition of an Eternal Power and Mind without which there could be no Order of Nature at all. God is the final discovery by the inquirer; but He is the originating Ground of the reality. Similarly, the casual observer of Christian missions, whether native non-Christian or foreign visitor, is likely to observe first the most obvious and tangible features of their work, their hospitals and schools. If he pauses to inquire *why* these agencies of physical and mental assistance happen to be there and whence come the devotion and sacrifice of their helpful services, he will discover the corps of workers and supporters who alone make them possible. If he presses his search further in quest of the dynamic source of this vast enterprise of varied ministries, he will come finally face to face with the full wealth and power of Christian Faith, and the Church through which it is sustained, enlarged and transmitted. The end of his inquiry, that Faith and its life of worship, are the originating Source and Inspirer of all else. In each illustration, the observer may stop short of the full discovery. The scientist may never press through to the ultimate Mind and Power. The

observer of missions, native or foreign, may never learn the secret of their existence. But there can be no question where that secret lies. The *ordo cognoscendi* is completed as it leads to a recognition of the *ordo essendi*, to the Ground of all.

One returns home from contact with this wholeness of Christian life and faith with profound conviction of its rightness and heightened admiration for its results. One returns also with new thoughts about our situation here. One returns with serious question about a Christian culture in which medicine is so largely divorced from the healing and strengthening and purifying influences of faith, in which education so generally recognizes no task beyond the training of intellect and the equipping of minds for achievement, in which the life of religion is so increasingly bereft of the enriching services of the ministry to body and the chastening demands of man's highest intellectual advance.

The Christian Mission is still teaching men to worship the Lord their God with all their hearts, and souls, and minds, and strength. This *is* the full and authentic Christian Gospel. It is also the only program for individual or community which offers promise of true health of body or mind or spirit.

v

4. *The Rootage of the Christian Movement within the Life and Thought of the Peoples of the East.* This is the problem technically known as indigenization. Behind it lie misgivings of two contradictory kinds. On the one hand the suspicion that Christianity may be inherently a Western religion, ill-suited to Oriental temperaments and unable to win firm footing within their cultures, that missions may be at the mischievous as well as futile attempt to foist an intrinsically uncongenial and unwanted foreign importation upon Eastern peoples. On the other hand there is the apprehension lest the effort to clothe Christian belief and practice in native dress—



dress often associated with pre-Christian and non-Christian thought and habits—may involve dilution and even perversion of authentic Christian faith.

I set forth with both misgivings strongly held. I discovered each almost wholly unfounded. On the one hand, the process of the indigenization of Christianity has proceeded, in every aspect save one, much farther than I had any anticipation—in the development of native forms of architecture and liturgy and hymnody, in the raising up of strong national leadership, and in the actual taking over by native leaders from the hands of missionaries of the direction of the Christian Movement. On the other hand, I did not observe a single instance in which indigenization in any one of its aspects has been unsound or threatens the authenticity of Christian life and faith.

In every segment of our travel, and in the most unexpected places and circumstances, we came upon Christian churches constructed after the style of prevailing local architecture, decorated by native craftsmanship according to fashions most congenial to national taste, and fitting superbly into their natural setting. Whether one recalls the gracious prau-shaped sanctuary far in interior Celebes, casting its hallowing shadow upon a leper colony which might almost have been mistaken for a garden village, or three newly constructed Anglican churches in the Diocese of Hongkong, each different but each unmistakably Chinese, or the striking modernistic chapel in the Women's College at Tokyo, or the lovely Indian temple without pews or walls or adornments in the rural center of Asansol, India—the memory is dotted with proofs of the thorough and wholesome and altogether desirable indigenization of Christian architecture.

This is not to say that Christian buildings have shaken off Western leading-strings to anything like a desirable extent. The early unimaginative tendency to plant a Dutch church or an English cathedral or a Middle Western meeting-house

in Tahiti or Siam or Mongolia still determines the larger proportion of church buildings in the East. Moreover, not all missions are yet cured of this blind-spot. But "indigenous churches" are not rare exceptions to be exalted for emulation. They are scattered far and wide in almost every land. More and more they are assumed as embodying the only proper principle for church construction. What is most inescapable in the realm of architecture is taking place less conspicuously but no less significantly in the realms of painting and music and symbolism and liturgy.<sup>10</sup>

The query immediately arises—is there no danger of too rapid and too widespread domestication of Christian forms within those of pre-Christian origin which are sometimes infused with non-Christian associations? In reply, I can only repeat that I discovered not a single instance of indigenization which aroused misgiving. Friends who have suffered under an eye which is peculiarly sensitive to "de-Christianizing" influences of any kind and a judgment which is exaggeratedly suspicious of "adaptation" in any form will, I think, regard that statement as fairly convincing vindication.

A symbol, like a sacrament, may be "an outward and visible sign of an inner and spiritual reality." The adaptations to which we have pointed are truly symbolic. The expressions of Christian faith in native architecture, music, ritual are merely suggestive of an "indigenization" at once far more thoroughgoing and far more significant—within the souls of the peoples of the East. The Christian faith has entered the inmost fastnesses of their spirits, has won their lives'

<sup>10</sup>My colleague, Doctor D. J. Fleming, has performed a notable service and paid a most gracious tribute to indigenous art in his two lovely books, *Heritage of Beauty* and *Each with His Own Brush*. The first is an exposition of indigenous Christian architecture all over the world, the second a record of native Christian painting. Both books are profusely illustrated. He is now collecting instances of adaptation of indigenous symbolism.

deepest loyalty, has been possessed by them and is now *theirs*, of the very marrow of their true beings. Of this most important and decisive "rootage" we shall speak in the next section.

In one respect only, as it seems to me, indigenization has not yet advanced as far as one would wish—in the intellectual interpretation of Christian faith, that is to say, in the realm of Christian theology. This is not surprising. The energies of the Younger Churches have been preoccupied and are still preoccupied with immediate and practical tasks, and rightly so. They have not yet discovered the leisure for extensive research and speculation. Their intellectual leaders are required for active and general teaching; they cannot be spared for the more privileged luxury of cloistered scholarship. Then too, Christian theological discussion is prevailingly carried on in Western languages (German, French and English) unfamiliar to Eastern speech, and in thought-forms and presuppositions uncongenial to Oriental minds. Moreover, there is no area where familiarity and experience rear awesome authority quite so impressively as in intellectual matters. It is quite natural that thinkers amongst the Younger Churches tend to bow in questions of doctrine before the more mature confidence of colleagues from the Older Churches. Furthermore, the natural diffidence of Oriental courtesy hesitates to plunge into the arena of theological debate. The result is that Asiatic and African and Latin-American apprehensions of Christian faith, while very real and distinctive, have not yet learned to articulate themselves in "indigenous" terms with the fulness, cogency and logical coherence of theologies with nineteen centuries of continuous development behind them.

This is all the more regrettable, however, because Christians of the Younger Churches have not only a distinctive but an invaluable contribution to make to the theology of the World Church. It is a commonplace that theological discussion among Christians of the West tends almost invariably to resolve itself into a debate between the "Continental" and

"American" viewpoints with the British, in the position they delight to hold in theology no less than in politics, wielding the balance of power and mediating between their neighbors on either side. The understanding of Christian faith by Oriental Christians, however, if it has not been dominated by foreign teaching but springs spontaneously from direct and immediate apprehension, does not fall naturally upon the line along which almost the whole of Western theological discussion proceeds but upon quite other lines tangential to it. Their reflections move on an entirely new plane and in terms of quite other presuppositions than those which are axiomatic for Christians reared in the Western tradition. Many of the issues which preoccupy, and divide, traditional Christian theology seem to the Eastern thinker not so much unreal as secondary or even irrelevant. The accepted categories of debate do not commend themselves to him as valid or at any rate as vital. If it is insisted that discussion *must* be oriented to the prevailing Western perspective and carried forward in its habitual phrases, there can be no real meeting of minds.

The first effect of this recognition is greatly to increase the complexities of discussion by shattering the accepted framework of traditional Western theology. The sharp antagonism between Continental and American contentions is dissolved, not by judicious compromise but by the introduction of a third or fourth point of reference of equal validity but quite different character. It suggests that the solution of the familiar antitheses of theological debate is not to be effected in an "either-or" choice or in facile reconciliation, but rather in recognition that neither of the prevailing viewpoints or some combination of them embraces the whole truth sought. The ultimate result is immeasurably to enlarge and enrich one's realization of the scope and range, the height and depth and breadth of Christian truth.

I do not wish to leave the impression that the Younger Churches have not already made distinguished contributions to Christian thought. To cite but two recent illustrations, the

notable essays by Dean T. C. Chao of China and Professor David G. Moses of India in the post-Madras volume, *The Authority of the Faith*, should be studied by every one eager to understand the articulation of Christian faith which is beginning to voice itself among Oriental Christians. It is the worth of these early promises of more to come which makes one impatient for a larger participation by the Younger Churches in ecumenical Christian discussions.

The ready and full expression of Christian faith in terms native and natural to Oriental minds has hardly begun. Some years will be required until a natural deference before the longer experience and readier confidence of historic Christianity can be overcome and the Younger Churches can bring their full contribution to the interpretation of Christian faith. This participation must be encouraged and awaited for the future. When it comes, and only then, will the Church of Christ in the world achieve its first truly ecumenical creed.

vi

5. *The Caliber and Influence of Christian Leadership of Nationals.* The impression is widespread that Christian missions have labored mainly among unprivileged and depressed groups, that these groups have supplied the great bulk of accessions to the Christian Church, and that Christianity has succeeded in interesting very few men and women of outstanding ability and influence. The question is sometimes posed why accounts of the Younger Churches so often repeat a limited number of familiar names—Kagawa, T. Z. Koo, Bishop Azariah of Dornakal. The question seems to imply the answer: we hear of these Christian leaders so often because there are so few others of comparable strength who might be mentioned.

It is true that the Christian Movement works predominantly among the neediest strata of society. When that is no longer one of its distinguishing marks, it will have ceased worthily to represent its Lord. This is one of many external

signs that the Christian Church abroad is far truer to its major obligations than the Christian Churches of the West.

It is a mistaken impression, however, that, relatively, its most notable influence has been amongst the needier, and presumably less discerning and more receptive, classes of society. Indeed a strong case might be made for the opposite contention, that it is precisely to the most cultured and highly educated leadership of Oriental nations that Christianity has made strongest appeal.

For illustration one turns instinctively to China. That is partly because of the present great sympathy for China. It is partly because China offers perhaps the most striking instance in point. The influence of Christianity upon the leadership of a whole nation and the claiming from that leadership of large numbers of men and women of outstanding abilities for direct service in the Christian Movement are probably more advanced there than in most other countries. China should be regarded, therefore, less as completely representative of what one discovers everywhere than as prophetic of prevailing trends. What is so striking there is no less evident, though at an earlier stage, in the length and breadth of the Christian Mission. Indeed one cites China primarily because that country's present desperate plight has disclosed, for all with eyes to see, the heretofore unrecognized power of the Christian Movement within the nation's life, a power which rises to highest usefulness in the hour of greatest need, which is most dependable and indomitable when most sorely taxed.

I have suggested something of the importance of Christians in the leadership of China today. What clearer disproof could there be of the assumption that Christianity's main influence has been with the ignorant and the outcast than the simple fact alluded to earlier that, though Christians number only one per cent in China's total population, they are discovered in China's *Who's Who* in the ratio of one in six? The pioneering of Christians in China's social advance, their founding and sponsorship of social crusades and philanthropies, their

prominence in education have also been mentioned. But the quality of Chinese leadership within the Christian Church itself is no less impressive. This was strikingly demonstrated in the influence of the Chinese delegates at the Madras Conference. Here, as at so many points, Madras revealed the realities of the Christian World Movement in epitome.

If there are those who still conceive the Christian Movement in "mission lands" as a foreign importation under the direction and control of foreign missionaries with the assistance of a very few especially able native Christians, in the interests of truth it would be well if that conception were dissolved as completely and irrevocably as their childhood fantasies of the Man in the Moon. Nothing could be further from the facts. Visit the headquarters of the National Christian Council, of the Young Men's or Young Women's Christian Associations, of a national Church body, of a typical Christian college in Japan, in India, in China and to a less extent in other lands. By no overt intimation but by the inescapable teaching of the facts, one learns very quickly who are the responsible leaders of the Christian Movement. One is welcomed, one is entertained, one is enlightened, one is inspired and shamed by that leadership in the persons of Christian nationals of outstanding ability, statesmanship and spiritual perception. In their presence no one could ever mistake the Christian Movement for a foreign importation under the direction and control of missionaries with the assistance of a very few especially able native Christians. Rather, it is a faith and an institution firmly rooted in the life of those lands and growing healthily and normally within their atmosphere under the control and direction of its own national leaders with the ancillary but highly valued assistance of a small number of missionary advisers.

We began our inquiry with certain questions about "Christian missions." Our vocabulary has undergone gradual and

perhaps unnoticed change. The phrase "Christian missions" has given place to that of "the Christian Movement." This replacement has not been deliberate. It has been, rather, an almost unconscious accommodation of language to the realities which were being described. For the reality with which the visitor to the Orient has mainly to do when he confronts Christianity there is not "foreign missions" striving to win foothold in strange soil. It is a robust and fecund, though numerically small, Movement increasing healthily within its native soil and disseminating through the environing culture influences all out of proportion to its size and age.

This is not to suggest for one moment that the services of the foreign missionary belong to the past. The exact contrary cannot be too emphatically underscored. In this matter, there is only one judgment which can claim authority, the opinion of the national leaders of the indigenous Christian Movement. Among them there is no difference of view. Their unanimous conviction was written into the Madras findings:

"The younger churches, exposed to the disintegrating influences of contemporary life and confronting unprecedented opportunities, urgently call for the reinforcement of an increased number of missionaries from overseas. . . . The selection, training and direction of the missionary must increasingly become the joint responsibility of both receiving and sending churches. . . . The missionary called by these churches must be a colleague of the leaders of the indigenous church, and a servant of the churches."

There is the pith of the matter. More, rather than fewer, missionaries are desired. They will come as servants *under the direction of the Christian Movement* by which they are invited.

It must not be inferred, either, that the concept of Christian missions has become obsolete. Here, likewise, the slight alteration of a phrase well symbolizes a profound reorientation of meaning. The term "foreign missions" is displaced by "the



Christian World Mission." That Mission is seen and accepted as the universal responsibility of all Christians without regard to place or heritage.

vii

6. *The Reality of Universal Christianity.*

The vitality of the Younger Churches and the strength of their national leadership are facts of immense significance not merely for the Younger Churches themselves, but for the health and future of the entire Christian Movement. This significance is at least threefold:

a. No longer can it be suggested that Christianity amongst non-European peoples is a "foreign importation." That charge has now become irrelevant and obsolete. This is not to say that the process of sound and desirable "indigenization" is by any means completed. The marks of distinctively "Western" expressions of Christianity still too largely color Christian life and worship in segments of the Church overseas, though in vastly less measure than is generally supposed. But Christian faith has so clearly and deeply and immovably rooted itself within the authentic experience of peoples of every continent and race that no longer can there be honest questioning of its "suitability" to them, or of its power to express itself as *theirs* and through concepts and forms native to their temperaments and cultures. Positively, this means that *the potential universality of Christianity*—its intrinsic appropriateness for peoples of all races and cultures and stages of civilization—is *no longer a matter of theoretical argument*. The "universality of Christian faith" is now a certainty, proven by the only evidence which could be finally convincing, evidence which is indeed irrefutable—its demonstrated capacity to meet the deepest needs, to win the fullest allegiance, and to become the chosen religion of numbers of representative men and women

of every class and type within every principal race and culture of mankind.

b. In certain important respects, *the Younger Christian Churches are already the vanguard, the spearhead of the whole Christian Movement.* No longer are they merely in tutelage to European and American Christianity, forming their convictions and modelling their practices and efforts solely upon what they have learned from the West. Rather, Christian Faith has so quickened their imaginations, gripped their loyalties and steeled their determinations that, at more than one point, it has already led them out beyond the furthest vision and achievement of the parent churches. To cite four illustrations which have emerged in our earlier discussion:

1. *The wholeness of the Christian Gospel which impels them, and the healthy roundedness of their Christian life and worship.*

2. *The leadership of youth and of women in the affairs of the Church.*

3. *Secure and vigorous confidence in the authority of Christian Faith and the power of the Christian Movement.*

4. *Conviction of the necessity of Christian Unity and resolute determination to achieve tangible advance toward its realization.*

c. All of this means much for *the endurance of the Christian Movement in the world.* Doctor John R. Mott has repeatedly declared that one of the most important conclusions driven home upon him by the Madras Conference was this: if, through the disintegration of Western Civilization and the tidal sweep of pagan totalitarianisms, Christianity should disappear from the Western lands where it has been planted for centuries past, it would not disappear from the earth. So deep

and tenacious is its rootage in the small but vigorous Younger Churches that it would remain alive in them, continue to grow and expand until ultimately the West would be re-evangelized from the East.

It was often remarked at Madras that notes of pessimism regarding both the state of the world and the health of the Church were sounded almost wholly by delegates from Europe and America; the voices of the East spoke characteristically with optimism. Their faces are toward the future with eager expectation and confidence. The message of the Older Churches proclaimed forecasts of doom but that of the Younger Churches declarations of faith. It is possible that the center of vigor and outreach for Christ's Cause is actually shifting from the Older Churches to the New. And that, in the truer perspective of the future, the recent meeting at Madras may be discovered to mark that momentous transition.

*viii*

*7. The Competence of Missionary Leadership.*

I must add a brief word about the missionaries themselves. We have noted the widespread assumption that "the leadership of missionaries while undoubtedly sincere, earnest and well-intentioned, is for the most part of mediocre ability, of very limited perspective and of dubious effectiveness."

The missionaries would be the first to insist upon their very meager gifts and accomplishments. Probably their favorite characterization of themselves would quote Paul's description of the early Christians, "not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble."

As one travels widely among them, a first impression is that the missionaries as a body constitute a corps of solid, competent, devoted "B grade" men and women. But when one returns home with perspective enlarged by world contacts and observes how few leaders of better than "B grade" ability

are to be discovered not only in the church but in government, business, commerce and education, his estimate is likely to be revised. The guidance of the missionary enterprise is in considerably abler hands than that of parallel endeavors in this country.

If a measure of dissatisfaction remains, it is not through unfavorable comparison with leadership in other professions or areas of the world; it is only because the extraordinary difficulty and importance of almost all mission posts require and deserve services of superlative competence. Consider for a moment a few of these positions. Here is a doctor who must administer every aspect of medicine and surgery, including many specialized services, to a populace of half a million or a million, without assistance, with inadequate equipment, with no possibility of consultation, three hundred and sixty-five days a year, five or six years on end. Who of the most famous physicians among us would be qualified for, or dare to undertake, such an assignment? Here is a teacher charged with the initiation and administration of the school-system for an entire nation, starting without buildings or books or even the medium of a written language. What Superintendent of Schools in an American city or state would essay that task? Here is the head of the sole university among fifty or a hundred million people in a land under ruthless military domination; in addition to the heavy responsibilities of academic administration, he must be constantly occupied in the most delicate diplomatic relations with an invading army and its government. What university presidency in America can rival that post either in difficulty or significance? Here is a theological college with scantiest equipment and support which may be forced to prepare the leadership of the church for a whole nation, a subject people under cruel repression, when the slightest misstep will bring closure upon the little institution. No seminary headship in the West makes comparable demands upon its incumbent for shrewd statesman-

ship, resourcefulness, and indomitable courage. Here is an administrator who must plan the organization of an entirely new church for a whole people, lay foundations of principle and structure which shall serve the unpredictable developments of coming decades, enlist and train associates from among that people, envision and direct a living, growing movement worthy of partnership in the most far-flung and far-reaching enterprise the world has ever known. Where in the length and breadth of Christendom is a commission equal to that?

These are not exceptional illustrations. The overwhelming majority of missionary assignments demand notable gifts, special training, unusual character. If the Church of Christ at home had been actuated these recent decades by an adequate awareness of its responsibility and opportunity, it would have directed the cream of its youthful leadership into the "foreign mission" enterprise. If today the Church were guided by a strategy in any measure worthy of its task in the world, it would be seeking to enlist a good half of the ablest men and women coming forward in its service each year for partnership with and under the leadership of the Younger Churches in the advance of the World Christian Mission.

Our final impression of missionary leadership will already have appeared. Among the total force of missionaries are persons of quite exceptional strength and influence. Each one of the specific posts just mentioned is in hands superbly effective in its exacting administration. To cite a single illustration. Practically the only institution of higher education still open for China's youth within the vast confines of Japanese occupation is Yenching University just outside Peiping. In the seclusion of its graceful Oriental campus—one of the most celebrated university settings in the world—it is carrying on vigorously with the largest enrolment in its history. Its continuance, especially without intimate sur-

veillance and interference by the Japanese military, is due in large measure to the wisdom, tact and resolute grace of the quiet, retiring scholar at its head. It has been his responsibility to pilot it through the indescribably tense and testing days of Japanese invasion. He is, moreover, one of the most effective bulwarks of order, decency and liberty in the whole of North China. For many years, Doctor Leighton Stuart has been widely recognized as an inspiring teacher and gracious Christian gentleman. No one who has visited the Far East these past two years will have any doubt that he is also one of the ablest and greatest living American educators and one of the noblest and most intrepid "ambassadors" this nation has ever had as spokesman of its friendship for another people.

It is true, however, that the great bulk of missionaries, like those in corresponding positions here, are of "B grade" capacities. But that statement tells only half the story. There is a strange alchemy in this movement. It lifts quite ordinary people to extraordinary service and influence, an influence all out of proportion to the world's estimate of their abilities. If the mark of "supernatural" power is "superordinary" or "superusual" effectiveness, then that increment of strength seems to be available to those who direct average gifts to superlative tasks. All over the world one comes upon them—men and women of modest equipment and training performing tasks of exceptional difficulty and moment with judgment, skill and unfailing modesty.

This fact does not escape the acute observer in those lands. We may again refer to the testimony of one whose knowledge and impartiality we earlier noted. Mr. Sokolsky, after two decades of residence in the Far East as a newspaper man, writes:

"I have known the American missionary in China well. He has been my friend. I have lived at his house. He has dined at my table. I know of no human beings who are more

self-sacrificing, more loyal to the people among whom they live, more generous and less materially rewarded for an arduous life than most American missionaries. No matter what happens in China, most of them will remain at their posts valiantly laboring for the simple people who love them."<sup>11</sup>

High praise indeed from one of another faith and very different concerns.

This fact does not escape, likewise, those most intimately affected by the missionaries' efforts. The most convincing proof of their caliber is the place almost uniformly accorded them in the esteem of the peoples among whom they serve, especially the foremost leaders of these peoples, whether Christian or non-Christian. Perhaps the whole matter may be illustrated in a word of mundane advice. When one travels to the East, he should take letters of introduction to every type of person there—to nationals, of course, but also to foreign business people and government officials. All will prove useful, though of varying value. But if he really wishes to come into the most intimate and enlightening association with leaders of the countries, meeting them in their homes rather than in their offices, entering at once upon a friendship of mutual confidence, he should above all take introductions to the Christian missionaries. It is the latter who hold their trust, their esteem, their affection, their gratitude for unstinted and unseeking services to the welfare of their nations. It is "the simple people" but also their leaders "who love them."

ix

8. *The Significance of the Christian Movement for Individual Nations and for Mankind.* Most people, whether without or within the Church, conceive its influence almost wholly

<sup>11</sup>George E. Sokolsky in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

in terms of spiritual helpfulness to individuals. Its importance for national or international affairs they assume to be inconsequential.

Our survey has revealed cause for serious qualifications on that impression. We have noted Christianity as inescapably a factor of great and perhaps decisive weight within the life of a nation. And in diverse situations—as the civilizing agency for a whole people in Fiji; as the only mediator of healing, learning, morality, spiritual ideals amidst tribe after tribe of primitive folk; as the chief source of leadership for public service among a suppressed nation in Korea; as the mightiest single force in the regeneration and emancipation of the largest of all nations in China. In these four contrasted instances notably, and in many others less strikingly, the Christian Church stands forth upon the record of history as a formative influence of quite incalculable dimensions. What would be the status and promise of these nations today had Christianity never come among them cannot be discerned. No acute and impartial observer will question that they would have been very different, and that the changes directly attributable to Christian permeation have worked to the solid advance and advantage of the entire populaces.

Nevertheless, the larger question presses: has the Christian Movement any measurable importance for the vastly more complex and confounding issues of international affairs? We have been at pains to note what the Church at present *cannot* accomplish and what must not be expected of it. It has not, and thus far cannot, prevent war even though it threatens to engulf practically all humanity. It can only moderate cruelty and alleviate suffering, not eliminate them. The Christian Church is not a political instrument to pit its strength against secular powers bent on conquest or retaliation with the only weapons secular might recognizes. In God's intention, it never will be. The forces it sets loose and the channels of their operation are too subtle to register in the calculus of empire;



their alchemy works too slowly and too silently to halt dictators or assure immediate triumph of right.

Are they, then, of no consequence? What is most needed for the realization of that fairer society of nations for which, even in this hour of holocaust, men still yearn? Surely two things preeminently: the raising up into leadership in the nations of men and women deeply committed to the achievement of world peace even at the price of national sacrifice, and the creation of a structure of international life to express and conserve the community of nations. The first of these the Christian Church is doing day in and day out; indeed it is the only agency raising up world-minded leadership throughout the world. The second seems almost beyond the possibility of hope now, certainly beyond the possibility of action. Yet, even now, as an earnest of its possibility and foretaste of its reality, there stands one world community drawn out of all the nations.

Let us turn once more to the Madras Conference, again because it so well discloses the Christian World Movement in miniature. We have noted that it was not only the most widely representative body of Christians which had ever assembled, but also in all probability the most widely representative gathering of men and women which had ever met in conference under any auspices.<sup>12</sup> And this, at the close of the year 1938—three months after the world teetered on the brink of universal conflict at Munich, three months before the beginning of the crisis which again plunged Europe into war in the summer of 1939. Among the delegations from sixty-nine nations were full representations from France and Germany, from Britain and India, yes from China and Japan.

<sup>12</sup>Here also, the Amsterdam Conference of Christian Youth has gone beyond it. "It is doubtful whether any other representative gathering has ever brought together as great a number of official delegates from as many countries under any auspices, on any occasion, anywhere else in the world, not excepting the meetings of the League of Nations."

It is said that this was the first time in history when official representatives of large bodies of the nationals of two countries locked in a major war have come together to counsel unitedly for mutual concerns. They came, not to argue the claims of their respective nations across a conference table, but to enter into difficult but sincere and profound fellowship in common devotion to a single Cause.

It is this which has been referred to as "the miracle of Madras." There are no auspices other than the Christian Church under which such a conference could have been held. There is now no other movement or organization or fellowship which has living units amongst the populations of practically every nation on earth. There are certainly no auspices other than the Christian Church under which such a representative world assembly could have met in the year 1938 or 1939. For there is no other movement or organization or community which is able to bring together in conference and fellowship representatives of the peoples of the whole world, overpassing every barrier which otherwise sunders them.

It was this which led the Madras delegates to declare:

"The decade since last we met has witnessed the progressive rending of the fabric of humanity; it has witnessed an increasing unification of the body of Christ. As we meet here, from over sixty nations out of every continent, we have discovered afresh that that unity is not merely an aspiration but also a fact; our meeting is its concrete manifestation. We are one in faith; we are one in our task and commission as the body of Christ; we are resolved to become more fully one in our life and work. Our nations are at war with one another; but we know ourselves brethren in the community of Christ's Church. Our peoples increase in suspicion and fear of one another; but we are learning to trust each other more deeply through common devotion to the one Lord of us all. Our Governments build instruments of mutual destruction; we join in united action for the reconciliation of humanity.

Thus in broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which He has purposed humanity to be."

Thereby were disclosed and symbolized these great truths about the Christian Movement:

Christianity has become at last a world movement: that Movement is today the only living, growing, powerful world movement.

The Christian Church has become a Universal Church: that Church is today the only World Community.

For "it is simple truth that in our shattered and confused and apprehensive world there remains one and only one unshattered, undaunted, resolute world community of men and women: it is the world-wide movement of Protestant and Orthodox Christendom."

As the Madras Conference itself was bold to affirm:

"By faith, but in deep assurance, we declare that this body which God has fashioned through Christ cannot be destroyed."

In the second century of our era, an unknown Christian wrote a letter to his friend Diognetes in which occurred this remarkable statement, "Christians hold the world together." As imagination recalls the world of the second century, we recognize that that was no report of fact. Rather it was a prophecy of faith. In the second century, Christianity embraced hardly more than a number of insignificant and despised congregations scattered here and there about the Mediterranean basin. However, in the centuries following when Græco-Roman civilization crumbled and the Dark Ages engulfed all that mankind had created of art, learning and culture, the only institution with sufficient inherent vitality, cohesion and resolution to survive universal disin-

regation was the Christian Church. Within its bosom it bore the best of the accumulated heritage of long centuries—intellectual, artistic, political as well as spiritual; carried them secure within its own life through the centuries of darkness and retrogression; and, at the dawn of the Renaissance, seeded them afresh into the new civilization about to be born. It was literally true that Christianity held the world together.

It may be that when the judgment of history looks back upon these troubled times which are our fate, it will declare as its most important verdict upon our epoch, "Christianity held the world together."

x

It will be suggested that the interpretation of Christian missions and of the World Christian Movement given in these pages is altogether favorable, quite "too good to be true." Rather it is a conscientious attempt at a true though necessarily incomplete picture. It is an honest report of the impression made by that Movement upon a single observer who approached it with grave forebodings and who applied to its every aspect the calculus of a highly critical mind. Our account has not been without indications of dissatisfaction with present achievement at several points, of criticism of present policies and practices in certain respects, of suggestions for strengthening and improvement. Some of these qualifications have been made explicit. Others will be easily detected between the lines of what is said. But the predominant impression made upon this observer is not one of mistake, weakness, failure, discredit. Doubtless there are many weak and even harmful aspects of that Movement in its totality. Doubtless there are instances of missionary work which are unworthy of support; though, in critical scrutiny of a hundred centers in twenty lands, I saw not one, and heard of only one. Doubtless there are examples of mission-

ary service which is mediocre and uninspired; though relatively they must be few.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the only rays of light piercing the gloom of our world's present outlook come from the Christian Movement. It would be an exaggeration of the truth. There is no other force "spread widely through our contemporary world and disseminating through the whole body of humanity influences for the righting of its wrongs, the healing of its deepest maladies, the bridging of its divisions, possibly even the halting of its fatalistic descent toward conflict and chaos." There is no other agency reaching out toward every corner of the earth, toward every people and every aspect of human life—for health and enlightenment, for reconciliation and redemption. There is no other institution or movement which still holds together the shattered fragments of humanity, as an earnest to all men of what God intended the life of mankind to be and what some day the family of nations may become.

The world-wide Movement of the Christian Church! There is nothing else like it in all the world. There has been nothing like it in the whole of human history. The truth is there is nothing which can so much as be compared with it. With all its divisions, its inadequacies, its apostasies, it is today the greatest power for the uplifting of the life of humanity in its every aspect and for the building of a fairer world which this planet has ever seen. Its powerful advance, with incalculable benefit to mankind, waits upon our realization of that **FACT**; for it is a fact. And then, upon our appropriate response to that fact.

"To all who care for the peace and health of mankind we issue a call to lend their aid to the Church which stands undaunted amidst the shattered fragments of humanity and works tirelessly for the healing of the nations."

*Epilogue*

THE CRUX OF CHRISTIANITY



# *The Crux of Christianity*

EN ROUTE TO MADRAS, WE STOPPED FOR A week as the house guests of one of the Indian Princes. The Maharaja of a comparatively small state, he is one of the ablest and most enlightened among the Indian rulers, at present the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. Indeed he had just come from guiding that unruly body to unanimous decisions regarding its own reorganization. Educated in English school and university, seasoned by a distinguished World War record in Africa and then by a dozen years of active military service on India's Northwest Frontier, the Maharaja came to his present responsibilities with a broad knowledge of life, acute insight and shrewd judgment—one of the most intelligent students of the contemporary world within our acquaintance.

His state, tiny in extent, might well serve as a model for the entire East in administration, social enlightenment, health and happiness of its people. Poverty, malnutrition, preventable disease have been completely eliminated. Free public health service embracing district dispensaries, general and maternity hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, the only solarium in Asia, European-trained doctors and nurses, is within ten miles reach of every subject. Public education includes kindergartens, nursery-schools and girls' schools of all grades. Splendid roads connect every corner of the little land. Government is efficient and economical. Predominantly agricultural, the country achieves for its populace a standard and quality of living far above those generally prevailing in India. Wise and



benevolent despotism in intimate proximity to the people is still able to shame the rule of imperial democracy. From the point of view of human well-being, this little state was far and away the most heartening thing we saw in all India.

*ii*

On the first day of our visit as we were going into luncheon, the Maharaja paused in the hallway to call our attention to a plaque hanging on the wall—a very beautiful head in relief showing three contrasted faces. “That,” he explained, “is a representation of our Hindu Deity. You will notice that, as with the Christian Trinity, there are three faces. But, whereas your Deity is three persons, our God has three faces, three aspects of a single Being. The first face of the Hindu Deity is that of Brahma, the mysterious Ultimate Reality. The second is that of Shiva, the Destroyer; for we believe that the powers of destruction as well as those of creation and redemption come from the Deity and are parts of its Being. The third face is that of Vishnu, the Restorer.”

I did not attempt to remind him that, in Christian thought, the word “person” derives directly from the Latin “persona” which designated the various masques or “faces” worn by a single actor in a play; in any true interpretation of the Christian Trinity, the persons indicate precisely “three aspects of a single Being.”

Nor was it possible to point to the deeper contrast. In the Hindu Deity, the second face is that of Shiva, the Destroyer; associated with his worship are many of the most superstitious beliefs and horrible practices of Hinduism—the cult of Kali, the black Goddess, whose revolting temple we had visited in Calcutta; preoccupation with fecundity; dread of unmoral supernatural power reminiscent of primitive religion; attempts to placate malign and demonic forces. In the Christian Trinity, the second face is that of Jesus Christ. In

that contrast is the heart of Christianity's meaning for the world and of its relations with other religions.

*iii*

The Christian Movement in the world makes upon one many diverse impressions. One impression overarches and overshadows all others. That Movement in its every aspect has one center, and one center only—Jesus Christ. The truth which Christianity offers to the world is an arch held in unity by a single keystone—the mind of Jesus Christ. The vast network of multitudinous and heterogeneous undertakings which the Christian Movement is advancing clear round the world turns upon a single fulcrum—the spirit of Jesus Christ. The living organism of the Movement itself with its capacities for continuance, growth, expansion, and inexhaustible vitality has a single life-bestowing and empowering heart—Jesus Christ. Everything in Christianity which is most important roots back in him and has its center in him.

It is impossible to define with any completeness the meaning of Jesus Christ for the Christian Movement. But certain aspects of that meaning may be suggested.

*iv*

1. *Jesus Christ is the instrument of Christianity's self-purification.* Here lies one of the most striking points of contrast with other religions. Almost without exception they lack power to purge themselves of extraneous, cheap and unworthy elements. So, as they pass down the ages and amidst diverse cultures, they accumulate variegated accretions from foreign and inferior sources. These accretions work their ways into the vitals of the religions and become part of their very substance. That is the impression made as one meets them. In their worship and practice, even in lowest expression, it is possible to discern elements of true feeling and high aspiration. But these are so overlaid and interwoven with the taw-

dry, the spurious, the vicious that such truth and power as are native to the religions have very generally been hopelessly diluted and contaminated.

Christianity has been subject to the same inescapable tendency to perversion through accretion. The extent to which such contamination may penetrate is all too evident, for example, in popular Roman Catholic worship and practice among Latin peoples. Yet from the outset Christianity has borne within its own substance an agency of self-purification—Jesus Christ, especially the historic figure recorded in the New Testament.

We discern it at work even in the first century. The earliest followers had known Jesus intimately. When they spoke of him, the very name pulsed for them with clear and vivid picture; it was he "whom we have heard, whom we have seen with our eyes, whom we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life—full of grace and truth." On the other hand, Paul and all later Christians came to such knowledge of Jesus as they gained after and through their experience of the Risen Christ—an experience begetting passionate devotion but also extravagant manifestations and exaggerated expectations. Emotional ecstasy threatened to mislead the Church into departures from Jesus' intent and faith which would have been fatal for its enduring significance. Especially in the second and following centuries, when direct contact with its source-spring in Judaism and with the Companions of Jesus was severed, and the Christian Movement flowed quickly out amidst the demoralizing paganisms of the Græco-Roman world, its truth and power were endangered. One factor principally saved Christianity for enduring influence. The words and deeds and faith of Jesus of Nazareth had won permanent preservation in the Gospels. The portrait of the historic figure began to work its ever-repeated alchemy—exposing absurdities, chastening excesses, sifting truth from fancy and reality from magic, purifying crude and false no-

tions, rectifying sincere but misguided misinterpretations of himself, stirring faith, winning a devotion both more intelligent and more unalterable. Here is cause for pause to those who think our certainty of the facts of Jesus' life and thought is not essential for his Movement.

We see the same process quietly at work through the whole of Christian history. Especially when contact with an unfamiliar culture or a newly emergent dogmatism threatens distortion and betrayal of authentic Christian faith. Never more clearly, however, than in Christianity's outreach among foreign religions and cultures. Today, in many parts of the Christian Church, notably in Germany and Japan, it is that Figure alone who can secure his followers against the menacing forces which would sway them from loyalty to his Way and Will. Through the imperfect records of the New Testament, Jesus ever afresh lays constraint upon his Movement in the world, holding it more or less true to his mind and heart and faith, and impelling it to new advances for fulfilment of his purposes. This is the most important single fact about the Christian religion. It is the secret of its continuity, its authority, its endless self-renewal.

v

*2. Jesus Christ is Christianity's agency of persuasive and life-altering influence.*

This, likewise, was true from the very beginning. Indeed, as one examines the Christian Movement at its outset when it displayed greatest evangelistic impetus and effectiveness, nothing stands on the face of the record more striking and inescapable. That earliest message was a message of Jesus Christ, occupied practically exclusively with the declaration of facts about him—what he had been, what he had said and done, what even then he was as Living Reality to those who spoke, and of what God had done and was doing in and

through him.<sup>1</sup> In the technical language of theology, the Christian Evangel was through and through Christo-centric, if not Christological.

Paul's education in Christian evangelism was representative not of the ignorant but of the ablest and most intelligent of the first Christians. Whatever we make of that strange experience on the road to Damascus,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that what changed Saul from chief persecutor to foremost advocate was a new apprehension of Jesus: "Who art thou, Lord?" "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" Nevertheless, when the convert first essayed to recommend his new allegiance among the intelligentsia on the Acropolis at Athens, it was not initially through a presentation of Jesus but by an ingratiating argument in their own philosophical language:

"As I passed by and beheld your devotions, I found an altar inscribed 'To the Unknown God.' Whom therefore ye blindly worship, I declare to you—God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth . . . that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he is not far from every one of us; for in him we live and move and have our being."<sup>3</sup>

This sermon, despite its appeal to us and its subsequent use uncounted times to commend Christianity to critical sophisticates, was at its first delivery a flat failure. Apparently Paul never tried that subtle stratagem again. Writing later to those at Corinth whom he did succeed in bringing to Christian faith, he reminds them bluntly of the matter and manner of his message:

<sup>1</sup>Cf., for example, C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Message and Its Development*, passim; A. C. McGiffert, *The God of the Early Christians*, passim; etc.

<sup>2</sup>So dramatically recorded in Acts 9.

<sup>3</sup>See Acts 17:15-34.

"When I came to you, brethren, I came with no excellency of speech or of wisdom, announcing to you the purpose of God. I determined when among you to know nothing except Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ the crucified . . .—to Jews, a stumbling-block; to Gentiles, sheer nonsense; but to those who are saved, the power of God and the wisdom of God."<sup>4</sup>

However we understand what transpired, this is inescapable: the influence which gripped and held Paul's Greek auditors, loosing them from the pagan immoralities of a decadent society and fusing them into one of the most cohesive and indestructible communities history knows, emanated from and centered in Jesus Christ.

What was true at the outset has continued the one constant feature of the Christian message in all its manifold and baffling variety through nineteen centuries. Feeling its way amidst the labyrinthine complexities of philosophical speculation in that contentious and befuddled Græco-Roman world, the Christian mind maintained its sense of direction by keeping firm hold upon its pivotal certainty—the centrality of Jesus Christ. That has been its single reliable guiding-principle in every period since. It is not one whit less true today. It was appropriate that the Church's early controversies should have so largely concerned the interpretation of Christ, that the one intolerable heresy should have been radically false views of Jesus. The wide divergences and mutual anathemas which sometimes appear to loom so prominently in the Church's history should not blind us to the larger fact. These controversies have been *within* a wide circle of common reference and agreement—the centrality of Christ. There has never been a moment of authentic Christian history when Jesus Christ has been other than the unique, the authoritative, the undisputed center of Christianity—of Christian conviction as well as Christian experience, and Christian experience no less than Christian conviction.

<sup>4</sup>See I Corinthians 1:18-2:5.

Today this is unfailingly true of Christianity wherever it exhibits impressive vitality and amongst whatever types of adherents. A group of American college students, speaking out of what they themselves are fond of calling their "religious illiteracy," confess the vagueness of their belief *and* the one secure confidence within that uncertainty:

"It was evident that Christianity meant one thing to one person and something else to another. The one thing that we did agree upon was that there is something in our Christian heritage that gives us the starting-point for our loyalty, and our understanding of life. That something is Jesus Christ. In him we have our common point of reference."<sup>5</sup>

Once again, however, it is where Christian faith makes its way among those previously wholly outside its acquaintance that it exhibits its most remarkable influence. There, too, the secret of that influence is most clearly disclosed.

I have spoken of our chance meeting on the flying field at Chungking with General Fu, one who would not assume the name "Christian" since he has never affiliated with a Christian Church but whose career of notable integrity and public service owes much to a lifelong study of the Gospels initiated through boyhood attendance at a little mission school; "he considers himself a follower of Jesus Christ."

Representative of many score of General Fu's countrymen is a quiet and able young Chinese scholar widely known in literary circles who thus describes his first contact with those same sources of life-determining influence:

"But in spite of these difficulties, I was brought into Christianity. I was simply captured by Christ! I became a Christian, not by persuasion of any doctrine, not by the prudent calculation of the superiority of Christianity as a religion, not even by the certainty of a personal God.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the *Commission on Our Christian Purpose* to the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, September, 1939.

"One evening, eighteen years ago, I was in the home of a missionary. For the first time I read the 'Sermon on the Mount.' I never knew there was such a thing as the 'Sermon on the Mount' before.

"But now, for the first time, I read the 'Sermon on the Mount.' And then I saw a figure. It was solemn, yet full of sympathy; it was penetrating, yet lovable. It stirred my heart with an indescribable warmth, but it also imparted a peace I had never known. I went back to my room, but I could not sleep. I had found something, and I was too full of the new discovery to lie down to rest . . . Even now I cannot describe in so many words what the discovery was. The only thing I knew was that every word of the Sermon pierced into my heart and spoke to my condition. I knelt down and said, 'Lord, Thou art my Lord.' . . ."

When the Jerusalem Conference of 1928 prefaced its findings with the statement, "Our message is Jesus Christ," to many it seemed a pious platitude without clear or vital relevance. Actually it was a simple declaration of the one basic and normative reality of the Christian World Movement.

vi

3. *Jesus Christ is the energizing dynamic for new out-reaches into untouched areas of the earth's surface and, equally, into unredeemed aspects of the world's life.* It is Dean Charles W. Gilkey, I think, who somewhere reminds us that every movement "back to Jesus" has discovered itself transformed into a movement "forward with Jesus." Fresh contact with the historic figure, his mind and faith and fidelity, impels those who allow themselves to come within range of its disturbing ferment to launch forth on new adventures and crusades in behalf of mankind's relief and advance. A wise woman of my acquaintance not given to emotionalism in religion used to say that Christians need to be reconverted about once in three years. One of the most redoubtable Christian pioneers of today who, past sixty years of age, finds him-



self driven to advocate new applications of Christian caustic to cauterize festering sores within the social organism, details his biography as a series of such "new conversions." Each return to the mind of Christ forces him anew to discern its fuller meaning for mankind, always with more exacting demands upon his own devotion and daring. At threescore years, the end is not yet. For most striking illustrations of this perennial propulsion by Christ to higher ethical insight and practice, however, we may well turn once more to lands only lately touched by his influence. To recall a single example, to the Chinese woman commander who declines to follow the accepted "ethics" of warfare as universally practised in the West—a bomb for a bomb, air-raid for air-raid.

vii

4. *Jesus Christ is both the impulse toward and the basis for Christian unity.* That becomes very clear to any one who attends a great world gathering of Christians in their manifold diversity of traditions, viewpoints and practices. One quickly discerns that the assemblage has one and only one center. Not only is their common loyalty to him the sole possible basis of their unity. His living Realty among and above the confusion and conflicts of his professed adherents in their all-too-patent finiteness is inescapably the Master of their meeting. Indeed, in a more sensitive attunement of their thought to his Mind lies the major prospect of wisdom for them and through them for their world. In increasing recognition of his Reality and progressive servitude by individuals and groups to the sway of its direction lies the only promise of significant usefulness to their generation and the achievement of greater unity amongst themselves. Ecumenical faith is pre-eminently faith in Jesus Christ. Those who have drawn the specifications for the proposed World Council of Churches have been guided by a sound instinct to propose as its basis

merely the acceptance of "our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour."<sup>6</sup>

Jesus Christ is not only the common standing-ground upon which alone Christian unity may hopefully be founded. He is himself the principal impulsion toward its realization. As we have noted, sensitiveness to his desire and response to it are strongest among Christians of the Younger Churches who are resolved "to put an end to the scandalous effects of our divisions" and to advance "in the path of union—the union for which our Lord prayed, through which the world would indeed believe in the Divine Mission of the Son, our Lord Jesus Christ."

*viii*

5. *Jesus Christ is, supremely, the bestower of God*—of the knowledge of what and who God is, and of the faith by which men may trust in Him.

Christianity's power to bring redemption to mankind rests finally in its grip on truth. The core of its claim to truth is its certainty of God. The God of that certainty is the God and Father of Jesus Christ, the God in whom Jesus himself completely trusted.

Christians' certainty of God, their reliance upon Him, is possible for them only through their trust in Jesus' faith in Him. That is not a bad definition of the essence of Christian faith: it is faith in the faith of Jesus Christ, trust in Him in whom Jesus trusted altogether. That faith in the God and Father of Jesus Christ becomes possible for us by virtue of Jesus' trust in Him. Our faith is, quite literally, "through Jesus Christ, our Lord." The nub of it all can hardly be better put than in Paul's great phrase:

"God, who commanded the lights to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>But see comment above, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup>II Corinthians, 4:6.

*ix*

Recently a group of younger Christian theologians were discussing trends in contemporary thought. One of them, justifying a widespread insistence upon the inscrutable obscurity of God's operations, declared, "But the Christian thought of God has always had mystery at its center." Another of the group replied, "No. Christian thought of God has always had mystery at its periphery. But at its center, the face of Jesus Christ."

There is the crux of Christianity.

*Appendix*

“THE FAITH BY WHICH THE  
CHURCH LIVES”



# *"The Faith by Which the Church Lives"*

From the Report of Section I of the Madras Conference

## *1. The Need of the World*

The Christian Church today is called to live, and to give life, in a world shaken to its foundations.

When the International Missionary Council met at Jerusalem ten years ago, the faith was strong that a new and better world had been born amidst the destruction of the Great War, and that the Church might lead in building it up. Today that faith is shattered. Everywhere there is war or rumor of war. The beast in man has broken forth in unbelievable brutality and tyranny. Conflict and chaos are on every hand, and there is little hope that statesmanship can do more than check temporarily their alarming spread.

The outward confusion of man's life reflects, and is reflected in, the confusion of men's hearts and minds.

Many have lost all faith. Not only their faith in the gods of their fathers; but faith in all they had believed most certain and important—in reason and in truth, in honor and in decency, in the possibility of peace and the power of right. They are overwhelmed by a sense of utter impotence and despair.

In others there is a resurgence of faith, often faith in new gods. For whole peoples, faith in their nation or class serves as religion and wins absolute devotion. These faiths come as rebukes and challenges to an easy and hesitant Christianity. But, rooted in false or inadequate ideas of man and the world, they tend to aggravate the world's disorder; their issue is war, persecution and cruelty of men to one another.

Others, though bitterly disillusioned, still seek to rest their con-

fidence in science and man's power to redeem himself, yet secretly they feel that confidence is vain. They long for a faith that can bring a surer hope to their own lives and to their civilization.

Meantime want, ignorance, superstition, fear still hold their sway over the lives of countless millions. The cry of the multitudes for deliverance still goes up. They know not where to turn, or whom to trust.

Mankind's great need is for a true and living faith.

## 2. *The Heart of the Gospel*

It is in and to this world that the Church must conduct its mission, seeking to repossess and proclaim its God-given message in all its truth and power.

But first we must come in penitence to the feet of God. In the presence of these disasters and forebodings, we see the judgment of God's righteousness upon our society; but we see also His judgment upon our churches—so enmeshed in the world that they dare not speak God's full word of truth unafraid, so divided that they cannot speak that word with full power, so sullied by pettiness and worldliness that the face of Christ cannot be clearly discerned in them, or His power go forth through them for redemption. We must come too in deep humility, knowing that no merely human deed or word of ours will suffice to meet humanity's need. God's words and deeds alone are the healing of its sickness. Yet it is still His Will to utter and accomplish them through His Church. His promise is still that His strength shall be made manifest in our weakness.

What then is the Church's faith, not in its whole range and depth, but in its special meaning for our time?

We live by faith in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Above all and in all and through all is the Holy Will, the Creative Purpose, of the Most High. The world is His and He made it. The confusions of history are in the grasp of His manifold Wisdom. He overrules and works through the purposes of men, bringing to nought their stubborn and rebellious lust for power but building their fidelity into the structure of His Reign upon earth.

Man is the child of God, made in His image. God has designed him for life in fellowship with Himself, and with his brothers in

the family of God on earth. Yet in the mystery of the freedom which God has given him, man chooses to walk other paths, to seek other ends. He defies his Father's will. He seeks to be a law unto himself. This is the deepest cause of the evil and misery of his life. Alienated from God, he seeks his salvation where it cannot be found. Impotent to save himself, he stands ever in need of conversion, of forgiveness, of regeneration.

Who then shall save? God saves, through Jesus Christ our Lord. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have everlasting life." This is the heart of the Christian Gospel, the Gospel which we proclaim.

God in His infinite love has acted for men's salvation. He has come among them in Jesus of Nazareth, His Word made flesh. In Him, He has conquered the power of sin and death. Jesus Christ in His teachings and life of perfect love recalls men to that which God would have them be, and brings them to shame for their betrayal of His expectation. Through His faith and perfect obedience they come to trust the only true God. His suffering and death on Calvary bring them to see the exceeding sinfulness of sin and assure them of God's pardon. His resurrection is the victory of holiness and love over death and corruption. Through His risen and living Presence, men who dedicate their wills to Him become with Him partakers of eternal life. In the strength and joy of forgiveness, daily renewed at the foot of the Cross, they are made more than conquerors over every evil.

For Christ, the Kingdom of God was central. He called His followers to seek first God's Kingdom and His righteousness. Through acceptance of His call to suffering love and through trust in divine help, men are summoned to be co-workers with Him for the increase of justice, truth and brotherhood upon earth. His Kingdom is both within and beyond this world. It will be consummated in the final establishment of His glorious reign of Love and Righteousness, when there shall be a new heaven and a new earth where death and sin shall be no more.

To the gift of Christ, God has added the gift of His Holy Spirit in the Church. Christ's true Church is the fellowship of those whom God has called out of darkness into His marvellous light.



The guidance and power of the Spirit are given to this Church that it may continue Christ's saving work in the world. It seeks to build up its own members in the Knowledge of Christ, challenging them anew with the message of His redeeming love, comforting them with the assurance of God's forgiveness in Him, teaching them the way of love through service for their brethren in Christ.

For those that are without Christ the true Church yearns with the love of its Master and Lord. It goes forth to them with the evangel of His grace. It practises His ministry of compassion and healing. It bears witness against every iniquity and injustice in their common life. It bears their sorrows and heartache on its prayers. To it is given the solemn privilege of entering into the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ.

In spite of all the weakness and shortcomings of our churches, Christ's true Church is within them; and our hope for the redemption of mankind centers in His work through them. Through the nurture and discipline of the Church, Christian life comes to completion; in glad service within the fellowship of the Church, Christian devotion is perfected.

If the Church is to repossess this its faith in all its uniqueness and adequacy and power, one indispensable thing demanding special emphasis today is the continuous nourishing of its life upon the Bible. We are bold therefore to summon all Christians to a deeper and more consistent study of the Bible, instructor and sustainer of the Christian faith through the ages. Only as, in its light, they seek together in prayer and meditation the guidance of the Holy Spirit, will they be able to fulfill their calling amidst the confusion and unbelief of this age.

### 3. *The Call to the Church*

This faith the Church seeks to declare by word and by deed. For Christianity comes to the world both as a Message and as a Movement.

In this time when brute force stalks the earth, the Church is summoned to bear courageous and unflinching witness to the nations that the base purposes of men, whether of individuals or of groups, cannot prevail against the will of the Holy and Compas-

sionate God. It is commissioned to warn mankind of the judgment which shall assuredly overtake a civilization which will not turn and repent. It is under obligation to speak fearlessly against aggression, brutality, persecution and all wanton destruction of human life and torturing of human souls.

Recognizing that Christ came to open to all the way to life abundant but that the way for millions is blocked by poverty, war, racial hatred, exploitation and cruel injustice, the Church is called to attack social evils at their roots. It must seek to open the eyes of its members to their implication in unchristian practices. Those who suffer from bitter wrong, it is constrained to succor and console, while it strives courageously and persistently for the creation of a more just society.

Above all it is called to declare the Gospel of the compassion and pardon of God that men may see the Light which is in Christ and surrender themselves to His service. And all this it must do at any cost, in fidelity and gratitude to Him who at so great cost wrought its salvation.

But the further summons to the Church is to become in itself the actualization among men of its own message. No one so fully knows the failings, the pettiness, the faithlessness which infect the Church's life as we who are its members. Yet, in all humility and penitence, we are constrained to declare to a baffled and needy world that the Christian Church, under God, is its greatest hope. The decade since last we met has witnessed the progressive rending of the fabric of humanity; it has witnessed an increasing unification of the body of Christ. As we meet here, from over sixty nations out of every continent, we have discovered afresh that that unity is not merely an aspiration but also a fact; our meeting is its concrete manifestation. We are one in faith; we are one in our task and commission as the body of Christ; we are resolved to become more fully one in our life and work. Our nations are at war with one another; but we know ourselves brethren in the community of Christ's Church. Our peoples increase in suspicion and fear of one another; but we are learning to trust each other more deeply through common devotion to the one Lord of us all. Our Governments build instruments of mutual destruction; we join in united action for the reconciliation of humanity. Thus in

broken and imperfect fashion, the Church is even now fulfilling its calling to be within itself a foretaste of the redeemed family of God which He has purposed humanity to be. The Church itself must stand ever under the ideal of the Kingdom of God which alone can guard it against becoming an end in itself and hold it true to God's purpose for it. By faith, but in deep assurance, we declare that this body which God has fashioned through Christ cannot be destroyed.

Meanwhile in countless obscure places in the world where through the centuries disease and darkness, poverty and fear have reigned, the Christian Church today is bringing effective healing, enlightenment, alleviation and a true and living faith.

To all who care for the peace and health of mankind we issue a call to lend their aid to the Church which stands undaunted amidst the shattered fragments of humanity and works tirelessly for the healing of the nations. And those who already share in its life, and especially its leaders, we summon to redouble their exertions in its great tasks, to press forward the evangel among all peoples, to strengthen the younger Churches, to speed practical co-operation and unity, to bear in concrete ways the burdens of fellow-Christians who suffer, and above all to take firm hold again of the faith which gives victory over sin, discouragement and death. Look to Christ, to His Cross, to His triumphant work among men, and take heart. Christ, lifted up, draws all men unto Him.

This day calls to no easy optimism, but to penitence, to unwavering confidence in the wisdom, love and power of God, to patient and unwearied service in the name, the spirit, and the power of the Risen Redeemer. The outcome of man's present distresses we cannot foretell. But this we know—in Christ's death and His risen Presence with His Church, God has shown us that the final outcome is with Him. His Kingdom is an eternal Kingdom. To those who share Christ's faith and devotion, He offers even new participation in its triumph, in time and in eternity.

Thanks be to God for His unspeakable gift!

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